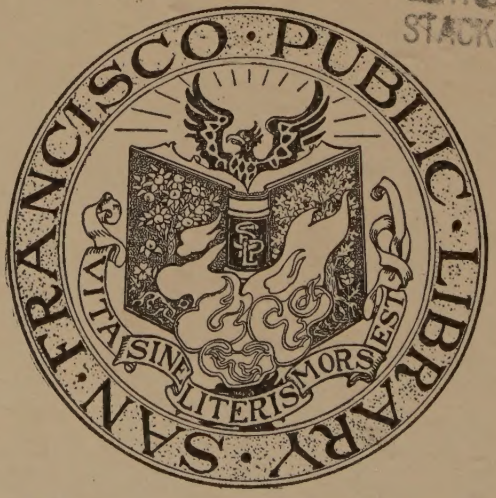
SUTRO
STACKS



BOOK NO. 971 C358 13

ACCESSION 154623

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THE LIBRARY

FORM NO. 37 2M-7-20

THE PUBLICATIONS OF
THE CHAMPLAIN
SOCIETY
XIII

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

SELECT BRITISH DOCUMENTS OF THE CANADIAN WAR OF 1812

VOLUME I

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

Five Hundred and Thirty Copies of this Volume have been printed. Thirty are reserved for Editorial purposes. The remaining Five Hundred are supplied only to Members of the Society and to Subscribing Libraries.

This copy is No. 53

PORTRAIT OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK.

From the water-colour in the possession of Miss Tupper,
Guernsey, Channel Islands.

Frontispiec

SELECT BRITISH DOCUMENTS OF THE CANADIAN WAR OF 1812

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY

WILLIAM WOOD

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I

TORONTO

THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

1920

x 971
C 358 13

154623

N.Y. PUBLIC LIBRARY

All rights reserved

TO

A. G. DOUGHTY

DOMINION ARCHIVIST

GUIDE, PHILOSOPHER, AND FRIEND

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE xiii

INTRODUCTION

CHAP.

I. PREPARATION: General, Naval, Military . . 1

II. BROCK: Michillimackinac, Detroit, Queenston. 1812 13

III. OPERATIONS in the WEST: Frenchtown; and in the EAST: Ogdensburg. 1813 50

IV. OPERATIONS in the WEST: The Maumee, Fort Meigs, and Fort Stephenson. 1813 . . . 54

V. OPERATIONS on LAKE ONTARIO: York, Fort George, Sackett's Harbour. 1813 . . . 56

VI. OPERATIONS on the NIAGARA FRONTIER: Stoney Creek and Beaver Dams. 1813 61

VII. OPERATIONS in the LAKE ERIE REGION: Lake Erie and The Thames. 1813 70

VIII. OPERATIONS on the MONTREAL FRONTIER: Châteauguay and Chrystler's Farm. 1813 . . 75

IX. OPERATIONS on the NIAGARA FRONTIER: Newark, Niagara, Black Rock, Buffalo. 1813 . . 93

CHAP. PAGE

X. OPERATIONS ON THE FRONTIERS: LA COLLE, OSWEGO, CHIPPAWA, LUNDY'S LANE, FORT ERIE, COOK'S MILLS, MICHILLIMACKINAC. 1814 97

XI. BRITISH COUNTER-INVASION OF THE UNITED STATES: MAINE, PLATTSBURG. 1814 . . . 115

XII. THE END OF THE WAR. 1814–15 130

DOCUMENTS

A.—NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP I

PREPARATION. 1801–1812

1. GENERAL 135

2. NAVAL 238

3. MILITARY 266

GROUP II

BROCK. 1812

1. *Niagara Frontier:* YORK and FORT GEORGE in July and August, 1812 347

2. *The West:* MICHILLIMACKINAC, July 17, 1812 . . . 419

3. *Detroit Frontier:* BROWNSTOWN, August 5, 1812; MAGUAGA, August 9, 1812; DETROIT, August 16, 1812 . . . 455

4. *Niagara Frontier:* QUEENSTON, October 13, 1812 . . 580

5. *Niagara Frontier:* FRENCHMAN'S CREEK, November 28, 1812 639

6. *Montreal Frontier:* ST. REGIS, October 23 and November 23, 1812; LA COLLE, November 20, 1812 667

7. MISCELLANEOUS, 1812 677

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. PORTRAIT OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK . . . . . *Frontispiece*
   From the water-colour in the possession of Miss Tupper, Guernsey, Channel Islands.

2. PORTRAIT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF . . . . . *To face p.* 1
   From a mezzotint by F. W. Reynolds.

3. ARMY BILL FOR TWO DOLLARS . . ,, 5
   From original in the possession of Sir Edmund Walker, C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L., Toronto, Canada.

   ARMY BILL FOR THREE DOLLARS . . ,, 5
   From original in the possession of Lieut.-Colonel William Wood, Quebec, Canada.

4. A FOUR-DOLLAR ARMY BILL FORM. . ,, 6
   From original in the possession of Sir Edmund Walker, C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L., Toronto, Canada.

5. COMMISSION FROM BROCK TO WILLIAM MORRIS, Esq. . . . . ,, 13
   From original in the possession of the estate of the late Edmund Morris, Esq., Toronto, Canada.

6. PORTRAIT OF SIR ISAAC BROCK . . ,, 25
   From the miniature by J. Hudson in 1806 in the possession of Miss Sarah Mickle, Toronto, Canada.

7. SILHOUETTES OF SIR ISAAC BROCK AND COLONEL JOHN MACDONELL . . . ,, 32
   From originals in the possession of Æmilius Jarvis, Esq., Toronto, Canada.

8. PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN SIR JAMES LUCAS YEO . . . . . *To face p.* 56
After a painting by A. Buck.

9. SIGNALS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S SQUADRON ON LAKE ONTARIO . . . . . „ 59
From original in the possession of H. A. Dean, Esq., Chatham, Canada.

10. PORTRAIT OF LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES DE SALABERRY . . . . . „ 75
From an engraving by A. B. Durand after a painting by A. Dickinson

11. FACSIMILE OF A CONFIDENTIAL LETTER FROM FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE RIGHT HONBLE. THE EARL BATHURST, DATED 4TH NOVEMBER, 1814 . . . . . „ 131

LIST OF MAPS

All the Maps are in the Pocket at the end of Vol. I.

1. THE SEAT OF WAR.
2. THE DETROIT FRONTIER.
3. THE NIAGARA PENINSULA.
4. QUEENSTON.
5. LUNDY'S LANE.
6. CHRYSTLER'S FARM.
7. CHÂTEAUGUAY.
8. PLATTSBURG.

PREFACE

THERE are good grounds for believing that nearly all the really important British documents concerned with the Canadian part of the War of 1812 have now been harvested into the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, either in the originals or in faithful copies, photographic and manuscript; that the rest are accessible elsewhere; and that only stray gleanings remain unknown. To make doubly sure of this the publication of these volumes was postponed for two years, during which many additional efforts were made to elicit further information from every likely or possible source. The Champlain Society also took the precaution of sending the Editor on a tour of some three thousand miles so that he might personally examine the principal scenes of action. At last, when the multitudinous parts seemed to constitute a satisfactory whole, the present selection was carefully made in order to give a true idea of the complete evidence on this particular branch of the subject. Finality is naturally impossible in any question of research. But the present approach to it seems to be close enough for practical use; and there seems to be no reason to suppose that a fourth, or supplementary, volume would make a further advance of any real consequence. Nothing could be easier than to compile one or more additional volumes out of the many minor documents which are already represented here by suitable specimens. But the only justification for such additions would be a series of "finds" that would materially change the evidence; and "finds" like this seem to be almost beyond reasonable expectation.

These *Select British Documents* are not meant to be a history but a contribution towards the original evidence on which true history must be based. They form the gist of only one of four equally important collections of evidence. The other three are: first, the American documents which correspond with those used here; secondly, the British documents concerned with that part of the war which was carried on outside of the Canadian theatre of operations; and, thirdly, the American documents of a correspondingly "outside" nature. But it is hoped that, within its proper limits, the evidence now selected is complete. It is grouped so as to tell its own tale in its own words, while the exact references to the originals or copies in the Archives will enable students to consult the documents themselves on any special point. Documents in French are very rarely used; and this for three reasons: first, because there appear to be no important official documents in French which are not practically translations from the English; secondly, because the official French texts have survived only in very corrupt forms, due probably to having been copied out by English-speaking Orderly Room clerks; and, thirdly, because very few private French documents seem to exist. French-Canadians who played a leading part, like De Salaberry, generally wrote their most important communications in English. A few American documents have been inserted when the thread of the narrative might otherwise be lost.

No discrimination is made between documents that have been printed over and over again and those which are now published for the first time. There are several "finds" of prime importance in the text as well as in the maps and illustrations. But they all go into their respective places like any other items of evidence. One of them, however, is so curious an instance of the might-have-beens of universal history that it may be mentioned separately. It is the confidential letter which Wellington wrote to Bathurst from

Paris, in November 1814, on hearing the news of Prevost's disgrace at Plattsburg. It suggests that Wellington might possibly have been in Canada instead of on the field of Waterloo; and it ends with a passage which throws his sense of duty into fine relief. He was already a duke, a field-marshal, and second only to Napoleon himself in the eyes of the world at large. Yet he was quite ready to start for even such a very minor seat of war as the Canada of 1815. "I believe I shall not be able to go to Quebec till April. . . . It will be for you to consider whether I can be most useful to you there, here, or elsewhere."

For the sake of convenience all the maps and illustrations are put into this first and handiest volume. The chapters of the Introduction exactly correspond with the groups of the Narrative Documents.

All the information generally given in footnotes will be found in or through the Index, which, in view of the multifarious details contained in the documents, has been made unusually full and precise.

PORTRAIT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST,

Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

From a mezzotint by S. W. Reynolds.

To face

SELECT BRITISH DOCUMENTS OF THE CANADIAN WAR OF 1812

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

PREPARATION

GENERAL, NAVAL, AND MILITARY

GENERAL.—Even at the very beginning of the nineteenth century the United States and Canada were watching each other with suspicious eyes. Vague rumours were floating about. They came from no one knew where, gathered strength as they came, and increased suspicion when they arrived. They were sometimes unfounded. But their persistence told, and their impalpability no less. The "Green Mountain Boys" were supposed to be harbouring designs like those which had been harboured by Ethan Allen, the raider of Ticonderoga, at the time of the Revolution. Secret committees were said to be sitting, on both sides of the line, for the encouragement of "Jacobins" and the upsetting of all things British in America. The general commanding at Halifax in 1804 warned his brother officer at York (Toronto) that the Indians were off for no good purpose, that French emissaries were active across the border, and that all the anti-British elements were being

prepared to rally round a French invading army, in which, however, he hardly believed.

In 1807 the question was often debated in the Governor's Council at Quebec; and the name of Brock, then commanding there, began to be mentioned in connection with schemes of defence. "His Honor therefore observed to the Board, that, in their present Deliberations, they must in a great degree be guided by Colonel Brock's opinion of the necessity for having immediate recourse to the Extraordinary Measures proposed in his Letter of the 17th Instant for the Defence of Quebec, and that He thought it advisable Colonel Brock should be apprized of the Means of Assistance within the reach or at the disposal of the Executive Government, as well as of the Difficulties that may impede the Executive. . . . The Militia when embodied are by Law entitled to receive the same pay and allowance as the King's Troops. No funds for this purpose are at the disposal of the Civil Government, but they have hitherto been invariably provided by the Commander in Chief of the Forces. . . . After Deliberation it was ordered, that the Clerk of the Council transmit a Copy of the present Minute to Colonel Brock, and inform him that the Council will meet again at Twelve o'clock for the purpose of taking into consideration any Representation in writing which he may judge it proper to make in consequence of this communication, and also that, if it is convenient to Colonel Brock, the Council request his personal attendance at the above hour." This is the entry for the 22nd of July 1807, the year in which the American war party ought to have struck, and struck hard, if they intended to strike at all.

The next year Castlereagh was writing "Secret-and-Confidentials" out to Sir James Craig, the Governor-General, saying that Napoleon's refusal to soften his blockade in favour of the United States "diminished the Probability of any Rupture." But "at the same time it is not considered

of such a Nature as to warrant the suspension or Discontinuance of those Measures of Precaution which you have been instructed to take." Disputed boundaries of course came into unusual prominence at such a time; and both sides happened to be greatly exercised over Moose Island in Passamaquoddy Bay, on the coast of Maine, and Carleton Island, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, between Kingston and Sackett's Harbour. The Governor-General enjoined the greatest caution on his subordinates, particularly specifying that military officers were to be very careful not to give the Americans the slightest ground of complaint by any appearance of high-handed action.

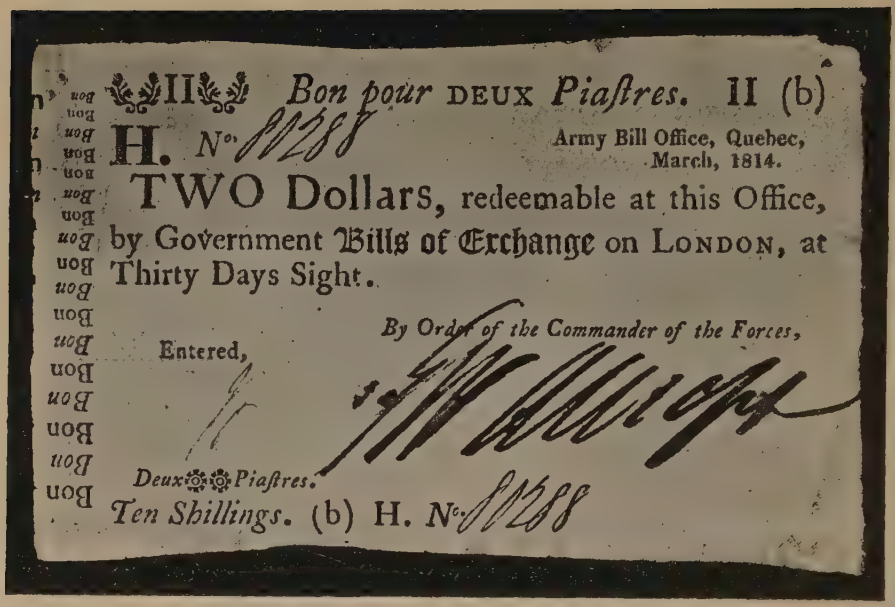
The years 1809 and 1810 were a little quieter, but rather from the fact that mutual suspicions had become habitual than from the removal of the causes which had originally led to them.

In 1811 Sir George Prevost became Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, a dual office which then implied the exercise of very real power. Prevost was purely Swiss by blood, though his father had been a British officer of some note in minor positions of civil and military trust. He was already familiar with conditions in the British-American colonies. In 1805 he had been made a baronet for defending Dominica. Afterwards, when Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, he had taken part in a successful attack on Martinique. His promotion to Quebec was consequently expected to prove a good stroke of policy. At first it seemed to be so. He was comparatively young, only forty-four. His manners were suavely diplomatic, in marked contrast to those of his immediate predecessor, the abrupt, determined Craig. His mother-tongue was French. French ways were thoroughly familiar to him and he was well fitted to understand French-Canadian aspirations. But there his public virtues ended. He lacked effective initiative himself and he was afraid of encouraging it in others. He had none

of the supremely great qualities which make for success in war; and when the searching crisis came it found him entirely wanting.

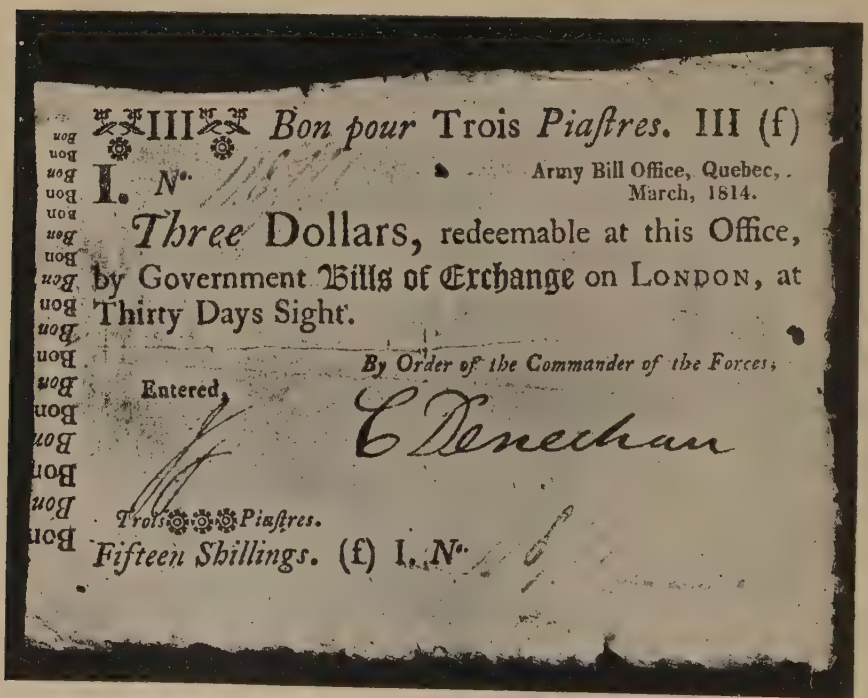
On the 17th of August Prevost issued a general order at Halifax, on assuming the command, and appointed an officer whose name occurs all through the correspondence, "Ensign Noah Freer of the Nova Scotia Regiment of Fencibles to be His Military Secretary." On the 14th of September Prevost announced his arrival in Quebec in an order signed by "Edwd. Baynes, Adjutant General, North America." Thus what were to prove two of the weakest spots in the defence of Canada—Prevost and Baynes—came into evidence at Quebec just a year before the first decisive actions of the war. In the same order "Major General Brock is directed to proceed immediately to York in Upper Canada and take upon himself the command of the Troops stationed in that Province, together with the Civil Administration of the same." "Colonel Vincent, 49th Regiment, will assume command of the garrison and district of Montreal upon the Departure of Major General Brock."

Brock issued his own proclamation in October, and in November wrote the first of many letters begging Prevost to forward money with which to carry on the affairs of the government. "An Act to explain, amend and reduce to one Act of Parliament the Several Laws now in being for the raising and training of the Militia of this Province" was passed by the legislature of Upper Canada in the spring, and Brock had the satisfaction of receiving the royal assent to it in June 1812. There was a military tone about the statutes of this parliamentary session. Chapter I provided for "a Bounty for apprehending Deserters in this Province," and Chapter VI was "an Act for granting to his Majesty a sum of money for the use of the Militia of this Province." The great disappointment was the refusal of the legislature to sanction "the oath of abjuration" designed to purge



ARMY BILL FOR TWO DOLLARS.

From original in the possession of Sir Edmund Walker, C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L., Toronto, Canada.



ARMY BILL FOR THREE DOLLARS.

From original in the possession of Lieut.-Colonel William Wood, Quebec, Canada.

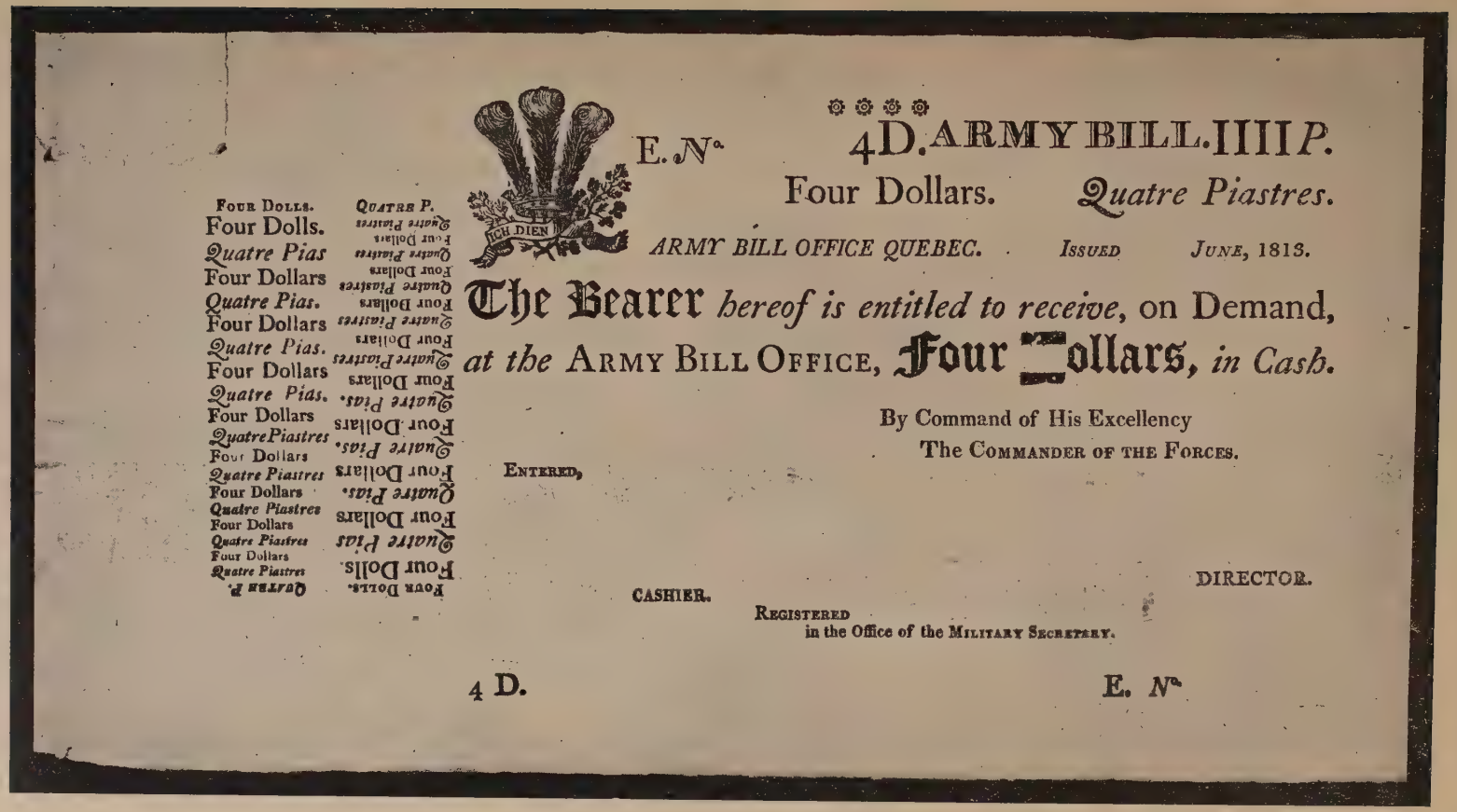
To face p. 5

the militia of doubtful characters. Brock sent a letter to Prevost by the hand of his faithful friend, John Macdonell, the Attorney-General, who was so soon to fall beside him in victorious death: "There were twenty members in the House when this highly important measure was lost by the casting voice of the Chairman." He went on to urge the immediate encouragement of British settlers as an offset to the influx from the United States. Prevost wrote back enjoining caution in regard to anything that might give umbrage to the Americans. Brock replied on the 22nd of April: "No act within my Controul shall afford the Government of the United States a legitimate pretext." In June (Sir) Robert Peel, then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote out to Brock and Prevost announcing the revocation of the Orders-in-Council which the American government were making into a *casus belli*. But four days before Peel wrote from Downing Street war had been declared at Washington; and on "Friday, 26 June, 1812, at the Council Chamber in the Castle of St. Lewis . . . His Excellency communicated to the Board two letters, the one from Mr. McGill and the other from Mr. Richardson, which were received yesterday, containing information that, by an express which left New York on the 20th Instant, and Albany on Saturday last, intelligence had been received of a Declaration of War on the part of the United States against Great Britain."

The Army Bills Act, passed in August by the Parliament of Lower Canada, was the most important financial measure of the war and, in one sense, of the whole financial history of Canada. These bills were the first paper money ever redeemed at par. The confidence inspired by their redemption begot confidence in sound colonial finance. This further confidence prepared the public mind for the great Canadian banks, which began to be established soon after the war. In its turn the Canadian banking system had the

effect both of stimulating and steadying the general business of the country at large. Taking all this into due consideration, it is not too much to say that the Army Bills went far towards making a financial epoch of which they will themselves remain the great outstanding landmark.

On the 10th of August Bathurst wrote two important dispatches, one to Prevost, the other to Brock. He told Prevost that the American government could not have known of the repeal of the obnoxious Orders-in-Council at the time war was declared and that the British government therefore still hoped for a renewal of amicable relations in the near future. This suggestion, good in itself, was dangerous in the hands of a weak man like Prevost, who, incapable of adapting it to quickly changing circumstances, presently made a wholly inopportune armistice before the battle of Queenston. He seemed to think an intermittent war would incline an enemy to peace on advantageous terms; whereas the exact reverse is the teaching of all history. Brock fell into no such snare. War was war, and while it lasted it was to be carried on with vigour. He took strong measures with his own timid and partly treacherous legislature, proclaimed the martial law from which they shrank, and employed all his resources in active operations against the enemy whom Prevost was so much afraid of thwarting. Unfortunately Brock did not live to read the dispatch of the 1st of October in which Bathurst expressed the royal approbation of all the means used to protect Upper Canada from rebellion, conquest, and annexation. Perhaps it was not in Prevost's nature to understand the irony of his being officially directed, just after Brock's death, to convey the approval of Headquarters for "the judicious Endeavours of that Officer to awaken the Legislature of the Province to a sense of their duty and their interest; and the Promptitude with which he dissolved that Assembly upon finding it so criminally indifferent to the fate of Upper Canada."



A FOUR DOLLAR ARMY BILL FORM.

From original in the possession of Sir Edmund Walker, C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L., Toronto, Canada.

To face p. 6

2. Naval.—The Provincial Marine was a little Canadian navy, a hybrid force, naval in its work but military in its administration. It was under Prevost, who never grasped the fundamental ideas of a really united service by sea and land. He thought, and acted disastrously upon the thought, that joint expeditions meant similar and simultaneous action —as if a man was bound to hit or guard with both right and left at precisely the same instant and in precisely the same way. But, even if he had been a Pitt, he could hardly have made the Provincial Marine into a good fighting force under the then existing conditions. The whole service was a makeshift. Many of the officers were good sailors, but not in a naval sense at all. Their flotillas were rather collections of units than parts of a fleet. Nothing effective was ever done till the Navy took charge of the Lakes. But, by that time, and with the inadequate means supplied, it was too late. The difference of pay between the expensive Provincials and the cheaper bluejackets was yet another disability that worked both ways for evil.

The reports on this colonial navy are well worth reading. Colonel Pye's report in 1811 contains two ominous statements, all the more instructive because he has no idea of their damning nature. "The superintendence of the Provincial Marine forms an extensive branch of the Quarter-Master-General's department." "The business on which the vessels are employed in time of peace is the transporting Troops and Government Stores to the several posts in the Upper Province, and the nature of that business seems to point out the expediency of their being of a shallow draft and small, especially those that are to go to St. Josephs, altho' the exigency of the times and the attempt on the part of the Americans to produce vessels of great strength and dimensions obliged us to adopt a similar measure, which at times is attended with much inconvenience." The proposed establishment for 1812 was only 132 men of all ranks

and ratings, but thirteen gunboats were provisionally added. There was no effort made to create a fighting fleet. The means were scanty in the extreme. But what there were might have been put to better use.

As war became more probable reports and actual work became more promising. In January 1812 two officers were recommended for superannuation as being "extremely inefficient." One was seventy-four, the other eighty-five. But Captain Gray, reporting on the 24th of February, showed the landsman in him when he declared that the *Moira* "will be perfectly fit for service." It was the *Moira* that was the worst sailer in the flotilla with which the British Commodore, Yeo, was never able to manœuvre the American Commodore, Chauncey, into action, even with the weather gage. On the 9th of March Gray recommended a move of part of the shipbuilding staff from Kingston to York. Whatever might have been the case had time and means permitted, the move was thoroughly unsound under the circumstances. It entailed a dissipation of force and building facilities just when concentration was most needed. The reason given, that Kingston was more exposed to attack, should have been answered by fortification, not abandonment. The event proved that Gray was wrong. A little naval knowledge would have prevented him from recommending, and Prevost from approving, such a step at all. It is interesting to observe what the memorialising members of the Newfoundland Regiment have to say about the Provincial Marine on the 7th of December 1812. "That Memorialists have laboured under many disadvantages and inconveniences in having been obliged to serve in a department they were totally unacquainted with."

3. Military.—The Militia Act and other parliamentary affairs belong rather to the general governmental system than to military work proper. Various general orders at

Quebec show that measures of precaution were being undertaken, though some of these, such as the forbidding of foreign recruits, are incidental to all states of military service. Want of means, or the will to use them, is shown in other orders: for example, the one directing that snowshoes are to be issued to only one-third the effective strength of Infantry regiments—as if the other two-thirds were not to count at all in a winter campaign.

On the 2nd of December 1811 Brock wrote a long and important dispatch to Prevost on the military state of Upper Canada from every essential point of view. On the 12th of the following February he withdrew his application for leave, "being now placed in a high, ostensible situation, and the state of public affairs with the American Government indicating a strong presumption of an approaching rupture."

The mention of "Telegraphs" may astonish the modern reader. But the word is not new, as is shown by its use in 1812 and the fact that it was always qualified by the prefix "electric" when modern telegraphy began. The preliminary instructions in the official textbook of 1812 are worth some study. The system was, of course, one of visual signalling, on the same principles as those in use to-day. Wellington used it along the lines of Torres Vedras, where a signal could be accurately transmitted, from end to end, in seven minutes. The work was naturally slower on the Niagara frontier, which is thirty-six miles long. Moreover Brock's men and means were both of the very scantiest. Still, the "telegraph" was in use there, and it did good service.

The documents show better than any description of them how multifarious the military preparations were and how inadequate the means. Transport and commissariat were questions of extraordinary importance and difficulty, owing to the immense length of the lines of communications, the meagreness of the supplies, the proximity of the enemy,

the small numbers procurable for these services, and the sprawling and sporadic nature of the war. Discipline was another danger and difficulty. But, on the whole, it was well maintained. The sedentary militia gradually approximated to the embodied. These, in their turn, approximated to the Canadian regulars, who themselves became almost as seasoned as the Imperial Army. Pay, pensions, bounties, and land grants were all adjusted to the circumstances, as well as the resources available would permit. The land grants are especially important, as they helped to create so many future generations of Canadians who could look back with pride to a martial ancestry.

The special militia preparations deserve particular notice, because it is the greatest mistake to suppose that the Canadian militia who fought so well were really militia in the common acceptation of the word, or that all the Canadians who fought were militia of any kind. Many were regulars. Others were militia embodied for fairly long terms of service. All were trained in close contact with the Imperial Army.

The Canadian law authorised the calling out of all the able-bodied men, with a few exceptions, from among a population which did not exceed half-a-million. The United States contained fifteen times as many. The Canadian militia was either "embodied" or "sedentary." Between the age of sixteen and sixty every man had to enrol his name, report every April, and attend four muster parades. From this universal "sedentary" force the "embodied" or "incorporated" militia was obtained by volunteering or, when that failed to produce the required numbers, by ballot. In Lower Canada an Act of Parliament was passed on the 19th of May 1812 authorising an establishment of 2000 incorporated militia during the war. This strength was increased to 4000 by the Governor-General in Council, and 4000 remained the fixed establishment until the peace. The service was made as easy as possible by discouraging married

men or other family supports from volunteering. The full term was two years. But half a corps could be sent home every year and replaced by fresh men. The half sent home then formed a trained reserve. Upper Canada was too sparsely settled for incorporated battalions. But a special consolidating Act of the 6th of March 1812 provided for trained flank companies—the picked men of each battalion. Two companies of 100 men each were to be raised, if the battalion strength allowed it, from men under forty who were unmarried and not the sole support of their family. These flank companies drilled six days a month long before war was declared. They were ready for service at a moment's notice, and they could be kept permanently embodied for any length of time, if required.

Altogether there were about 12,000 men ready for the first shock of war in Canada. Of these 4450 were Imperial regulars, less than 4000 were Canadian regulars, most of whom had been specially raised for the occasion, and about 4000 more were "embodied" or "incorporated" militia, who had been partly trained already and who were under the same military discipline as the regulars. A few "sedentaries" appeared in action. But their general duty was to relieve better trained men at the base, from time to time, as opportunity offered or exigency required.

The United States presented a striking contrast to this state of military preparation. Jefferson heralded his accession to the presidency in 1801 by declaring that the American "was the only government where every man would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern." He then reduced the army to 3000 men. Eleven years later, after President Madison and his whole party had decided on war, there were 35,000 men on paper but only 6744 in the ranks. During the three campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814 the United States enlisted 56,032 men into their regular forces by land or sea, 10,110 into their special volunteers,

and 3049 into their rangers. At the same time the different states composing the Union, each of which managed its own militia, called out 456,463 irregulars. Thus more than half a million men—equalling in numbers the whole Canadian population—were raised for different terms of service, from one month to five years, and for different kinds of forces, from the best of regulars to the worst of irregulars. Yet out of all this vast total of more than half a million no American general ever had ten thousand men fit for action at any one time and place.

The Americans fought exceedingly well on many occasions. But their best fighters always were the men who had previously learnt how to fight. On the other hand, their undisciplined militia were almost always the real culprits in all the unpleasant incidents of the war. The British forces in Canada were few in numbers, but, on the whole, superior in discipline and training. It is only because they were either regulars or permanently embodied militia that their patriotic efforts succeeded in stemming the tide of invasion which would otherwise have made Canada a conquered province of the United States.

ISAAC BROCK, ESQUIRE,

President, administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major General Commanding his Majesty's Forces therein, &c. &c. &c.

TO William Morris, Gentleman — GREETING.

REPOSING especial Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct, I do hereby appoint you to be Ensign in the First Regiment of Lincoln Militia during pleasure, and of which James Crookshanks Esq is Colonel you are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Ensign by exercising, and well disciplining both the inferior Officers and Men of the said Militia.—And I do hereby Command them to obey you as their Ensign And you are to observe and follow all such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from me or any other your Superior Officer, according to Law.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms at York this Fourteenth Day of June in the Year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve and in the Fifty Second year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Honor's Command,

Jno Powell
acting Secretary

Isaac Brock Maj. Gen.
& President

COMMISSION FROM BROCK TO WILLIAM MORRIS, ESQ.

From original in the possession of the estate of the late Edmund Morris, Esq., Toronto, Canada.

CHAPTER II

BROCK

MICHILLIMACKINAC, DETROIT, AND QUEENSTON HEIGHTS, 1812

BROCK.—Isaac Brock was born in Guernsey on the 6th of October 1769. Like most British commanders he came of an old family, distinguished in arms for many generations. A Sir Hugh Brock fought under Edward III, and the line probably went back beyond the Conquest. His father had been in the Navy. His mother was a De Lisle. He was related to the well-known admiral, Lord de Saumarez, whose family intermarried with the Brocks three times during the eighteenth century. An elder brother, Ferdinand Brock, had joined the old 60th, then known as the Royal Americans and now as the King's Royal Rifle Corps, and had been killed in action at Baton Rouge, when fighting, in the American Revolution, the enemy against whom Brock himself took arms.

As a boy Brock was not only an excellent swimmer and boxer but quick with his wits as well. He was fond of reading, especially about national heroes; and during a stay with a Protestant pastor at Rotterdam he learnt French well enough to turn it to good account in Lower Canada. At fifteen he joined the 8th, or King's Regiment, in which one of his many brothers was a captain. Seven years later he exchanged into the 49th, where a younger brother followed him later on. He was now the beau-ideal of military manhood, six foot two in his stockings, broad-shouldered and

deep-chested, active, athletic, keenly intelligent, and thoroughly sympathetic.

In Jamaica Brock nearly died of fever. With his soldier servant, Dobson, whose faithful nursing practically saved his life, he formed a friendship which lasted until Dobson died, years afterwards, under Brock's command in Upper Canada, only a short time before the fatal day of Queenston Heights. Brock, like Wolfe, was essentially a "Soldier's Friend," a fact which stood him in good stead when he succeeded a very inefficient commanding officer in the critical year of 1797. Mutiny was then in the air, both afloat and ashore; and it was based on deep-seated discontent. The 49th were inclined to be insubordinate. But Brock, who slept with pistols under his pillow, went straight at the root of the evil; was strict, just, and kind; tore down inflammatory posters; and soon had the regiment thoroughly in hand.

Though the great war had begun some time before it was not till 1799 that Brock saw active service. This was in the abortive expedition against the French in Holland. Brock's brigade and divisional commanders were Sir John Moore and Sir Ralph Abercromby, both destined, like himself, to fall in action, the first at Corunna, the second in Egypt. By a curious coincidence, Brock's second-in-command, Sheaffe, was in charge of his reserve in this his first battle, exactly as in his last, fourteen years later. There was a smart fight among the sand dunes, and a decisive charge, in which the 49th drove back the enemy with well-directed dash under Brock's gallant leadership.

Eighteen months of garrison work in Jersey followed. During this period Brock obtained leave of absence to visit his old home in Guernsey; and in his absence the 49th nearly went back to their old ways, as in the time of his predecessor. Sheaffe, who had charge during Brock's leave, was a harsh-mannered martinet; and Brock's return to

duty was greeted by a tremendous cheer on parade. Such a breach of discipline could not be passed over, and the men were confined to barracks for a week. But they knew Brock and Brock knew them.

In 1801 the 49th formed part of the land force sent with Nelson against the Danes at Copenhagen. Brock and his men did little except stand to be shot at. The landing party was never put ashore for military work. But the lessons of the expedition were not thrown away on Brock. He saw Nelson disobey Hyde Parker's signal with consummate initiative and daring skill; and he probably remembered this in Canada when he was under the thwarting command of a pusillanimous man like Prevost. He had plenty of leisure to watch the bombardment; and he was lucky enough to be close beside Nelson when the famous summons was being written to the Prince of Denmark.

From Copenhagen to "1812" Brock had no further experience of war. He really saw very little service in the field altogether; less in a lifetime than Wolfe in a boyhood. He had, first, fourteen years of peace as a regimental officer. Then he had a short and inglorious campaign, with only one experience of fighting, and that in a minor battle. Next, he had another year of peace. Then he went through a naval campaign in which he played a passive part. This was followed by eleven more years of peace, nearly all of which were passed in a remote colonial station. Finally, there came the three years' defence of Canada, in which he fell at the beginning of the first battle. Yet, in spite of his scanty, partial, and imperfect experience of actual war, he really won a whole campaign and did more than anyone else to determine the issues of the two that followed. He did this by his well-trained latent powers, always ready for instant action under any circumstances, as well as by the inspiring force of his example. With these two qualities in a supreme degree he called forth, led, and died for all that was best in

Canada. And as Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar continues to dominate the drama of Imperial Rome long after the apparent triumph of the men who slew him, so Brock remained the soul and spirit of a British Canada long after he fell dead on what must have seemed to him a stricken field.

In 1802 the 49th was ordered out to Canada. The tour of foreign service was apt to be long in those days. A regiment was once left in the West Indies for more than a generation. Brock did not relish expatriation, especially at a time when Europe was so volcanic that active service appeared more probable than the dull routine of garrison duty. But he went without a murmur and remained in Canada for the rest of his life. Sometimes he inwardly rebelled against being buried alive in a remote out-station while his contemporaries were winning conspicuous laurels in great campaigns in Europe under the most famous captains of the age. More than once he was on the point of applying for an exchange. But something always happened to keep him where he was.

His first station was the capital of Upper Canada, " muddy little York," now Toronto. The population was only that of a village and the amenities of life were almost wholly lacking. A detachment of his regiment was sent on to Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara River. Thus early did Brock begin to learn the frontier he was to die defending ten years later. His chief problem here was how to stop desertion. The discovery of a plot and a personal appeal to the men implicated removed the danger for the time. But the next summer news came over to York one midnight that seven men had left Fort George for the American side of Lake Ontario. Brock instantly set out in an open boat which covered the thirty miles to the fort by the next morning. He at once sent off a subaltern to search the American side while he turned back alongshore to search the British side himself. The men were all caught in United

States territory and brought back prisoners. Fortunately there were no American sympathisers about at the time, and no international complications followed. This was serious enough. But a greater danger soon threatened Fort George, where the particularly unpopular Sheaffe, Brock's second-in-command, had been making himself thoroughly detested by his harsh, overbearing, and wholly unsympathetic behaviour. A plan was made to seize and murder the officers and then cross the river to the States. A suspicion of the truth leaked out and word was sent to Brock. The orderly who brought the message was himself a doubtful character, and Brock immediately bound him, under penalty of being shot, to reveal the whole plot. Then, with the key to the problem in his hands, Brock sailed over to Fort George, arrested the two chief conspirators with unexpected suddenness, put the remainder in irons, and sent them all to York under an escort of artillerymen. Seven men were tried, convicted, and shot. Brock took the garrison in hand himself. Sheaffe mended his ways. And the 49th again became a corps that could be depended on.

Off duty Brock mixed freely in the social life of the people among whom he was stationed. Wherever he was he kept up his reading, like other good soldiers. His regular reading was mainly military, or what might be called "intelligence" work—work, that is, which contributes to an exact knowledge of whatever may be turned to advantage in a campaign. But his Shakespeare bore marks of much devotion; and, on the whole, he was not behind Wolfe or Montcalm in his eager, assimilative study of the best living books, both new and old.

He had hardly settled the affairs of his regiment when he began to mark and deplore the influx into Upper Canada of Americans who were ready to subvert British rule at any moment. These people came from the United States in a purely exploiting frame of mind. They had little or no

practical objection to any British rule that left them to their own devices. They were quite ready to leave one form of government for another, provided that neither form irked them in their chosen ways of exploitation. They naturally coveted the Crown reserves and questioned any system of land grants or tenures that thwarted their ambitions. Colonel Talbot and the Talbot type of settlement in Upper Canada were not at all to their taste, because Talbot was a British officer, a Tory, and the leader of a settlement founded on British principles and filled with loyal British subjects. But Colonel Talbot was not very much to the taste of a good many Canadians, who objected to landlordism under any circumstances. Brock wrote often and earnestly on the subject. He wanted to see a "plantation" of veterans established. The sons and grandsons would make a reliable militia. The best traditions of loyalty would be perpetuated. And Canada would have a British future guaranteed. Undoubtedly he was right and the *laissez-faire* policy was wrong. The United Empire Loyalists prove the case both ways. But nothing effective was done before the war broke out.

In 1806 Brock was on leave. It was a notable year. The Berlin Decree was about to follow Jena; and Brock longed for active service in Europe. But Canada was in danger, imminent danger, as it then appeared, and he hurried back to the 49th.

When he arrived in Canada he found himself the senior officer present in the colony. There was no governor at Quebec, only an acting administrator, when he took over the command of all the troops, and, with woefully inadequate means, prepared to put the capital into a state of defence. To guard against any repetition of the bombardment to which Wolfe had subjected Quebec forty-seven years before, Brock built a battery of eight 36-pounders on the highest point of the citadel, commanding the Levis heights opposite.

The people called this "Brock's Battery." The next year Craig christened it the "King's Battery." "The greatest compliment he could pay to my judgment," wrote Brock. Hospitals, drill-grounds, and means of transport, especially means of transport, engaged his continual attention. He planned an excellent system of water transport and command of the Lakes. But means were lacking.

He was not so sound in his views about the French-Canadians. He saw them resenting Sir James Craig's unsympathetic and masterful governorship and rejoicing over Napoleon's victories. But it was partly their fondness for British liberties applicable to their own circumstances that made them resent Craig's methods, and almost entirely their pride of race, in a purely sentimental way, that made them rejoice over Napoleon's victories. As a whole they had little desire to come under French rule again, especially if that meant the rule of a despot who had risen to power out of a revolution directed against both church and king. What they felt was that though they were well off under the British crown—infinitely better off than they had ever been under the French—yet they were the remnant of a race that had suffered defeat in Canada. Therefore they were generally disposed to look out for slights and find offence where it was never intended; and whenever they were in such a mood they turned to warm their old-French hearts before the fire of new Napoleonic glories. But there they stopped. They desired, first of all, to live their French-Canadian lives in a French-Canadian way. But they would acquiesce in British liberty under British rule rather than exchange it for either French revolutionary licence or French despotic command. And, when it came to the point, they would rather fight for a British French-Canadian particularism than exchange it for complete obliteration at the hands of the United States. Brock underestimated the strength of their opposition to American domination. But he quite

understood their pride of race. Writing home to his brother William he said: "It may appear surprising that men, petted as they have been and indulged in everything they could desire, should wish for a change, but so it is—and I am inclined to think that were Englishmen placed in the same situation they would show even more impatience to escape from French rule."

When Sir James Craig came out in the autumn of 1807 he assumed command of the troops as well as the governorship of the Canadas. But he made Brock a brigadier-general in actual charge at Montreal, where the great fur-traders then dispensed excessive hospitality, especially at the famous Beaver Club. In September 1808 another man who was afterwards a deservedly well-known leader in the war—Gordon Drummond—came out and took over the command from Brock. A third general of "1812" presently arrived, in the person of Baron de Rottenburg. Brock was then moved on to the command in Upper Canada, with headquarters at Fort George. He went "without repining." But he regretted leaving his garden at Quebec almost as much as Montcalm regretted leaving the happy olive groves of Candiac. "It is the most delightful garden, with abundance of melons and other good things." He often used to work in it himself. However, he found some compensation in his library, which he moved up with him to Fort George.

In 1811 Craig left Canada, and Brock became a major-general. Craig sent Brock his charger Alfred "as a mark of my very sincere regard," because "the whole continent of America could not furnish you with so safe and excellent a horse," and because "I wish to secure for my old favourite a kind and careful master." In the autumn Prevost succeeded Craig; while Brock succeeded Gore as "president" and commander of the forces in Upper Canada.

Sorrow and trouble had by this time fallen upon the Brocks at home. A banking house in London, of which

William and Irving Brock were partners, suddenly failed. Brock himself appeared on the books as liable for £3000, which had really been given him outright, and which would never have been charged against him under other circumstances. To add to the trouble, Irving quarrelled with William, greatly to Brock's distress. "Do not add," he wrote, "by any word or action to the sorrows of poor unfortunate William. . . . I sleep little, but am compelled to assume a smiling face during the day. My thoughts are fixed on you all, and the last thing that gives me any concern is the call which Savery prepares me to expect from the creditors." As lieutenant-governor he drew £1000 a year in addition to his pay; and he at once prepared to make this over to William. The news soon got abroad; and a letter from William must have consoled Brock with at least some of the sweetness of adversity. "It was reported that legal proceedings were commenced against you; and upon this report a young man lately from Canada, a Mr. Ellice, called on Charles Bell to enquire if it were so, and told Bell that rather than that anything unpleasant should happen to you, he would contrive to pay the debt himself. Besides his attachment to you, he told Bell that you were so beloved in Canada that you would not want friends who would feel pleasure in assisting you to any amount, if necessary." It is satisfactory to know that Irving and William were afterwards reconciled to each other by Brock's heroic death, and that William and his wife had the pleasure of hearing the news of Brock's capture of Detroit before the "mourning triumph" of Queenston Heights. On the 6th of October 1812 they were walking in the Park when the sound of a salute and the pealing of bells made them wonder what new victory had been won in Europe. "What can it be now?" asked Mrs. Brock. "Don't you know this is Isaac's birthday, so it must be all in honour of him!" Never was a truer word spoken in jest. The news of Hull's

Surrender had just arrived; and the guns and bells were really being fired and rung in Isaac's honour, on his birthday, and within exactly one week of his death in battle!

The move towards war came quickly in 1812 after long years of hesitation and divided counsels. In February and March Brock was busy with his exasperating Upper Canadian parliament, which thwarted him in his wise measures of defence, partly because the members who were traitors wanted no defence at all, and partly because the smaller politicians—like little politicians all the world over—either lacked the foresight needed, or, having it, refused to give the necessary power into stronger hands than theirs one moment before the stress of action would wrest it from them. The summer session, after the declaration of war, was no better. The disloyal faction wasted the time of the House on purpose. Brock then resolved to dismiss such a useless legislature at once. His closing speech put new heart into the loyalists. He ended it with the prophecy that eventually came true, though he hardly dared to believe in it himself at the time: "We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and dispatch in our councils and by vigour in our operations we may teach the enemy this lesson: that a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and Constitution, can never be conquered."

He had already called out the flank companies of militia, which had had six days' drill a month, and which were liable for service anywhere in Upper Canada at a moment's notice. The two flank companies of a battalion were always picked men, the light company for their smartness and the grenadier company for their steadiness. Eight hundred men responded cheerfully; but were naturally disconcerted to find themselves without blankets, knapsacks, haversacks, tents, and other campaigning equipment. Then, the farming

season made them very restive under arms. There was no superfluity of food, let alone market profits; and the bread-winners were anxious to look after their crops. A certain number were given leave in rotation. The Americans across the river seemed very raw and unprepared, in spite of their immense superiority in resources. And the news from the West on the 20th of July was that Hull was at the head of 2000 Americans, moving slowly, and open to attack. Brock wanted to go himself. But the session of his thwarting little parliament kept him back. On the whole, the situation, especially in the West, looked very black to the much harassed general. The Grand River Indians were unwilling to turn out, so threatening did the American invasion seem. This immobilised the neighbouring militia, who were unwilling to leave their families while the Indians remained in a state of menacing doubt. On the 28th of July Brock wrote: "My situation is getting each day more critical."

On the 29th of July he had the satisfaction of reporting the fall of Michillimackinac. But his letter teems with forebodings. So does that of the 4th of August. "The House of Assembly have refused to do any one thing they were required . . . everybody considers the fate of the country as already decided. . . . I begin to be uneasy for Procter. . . . I am collecting a force at Long Point with a view to afford him relief, but until I receive information of the state of affairs in that quarter I cannot move."

Twelve days later he might have written—*veni*, *vidi*, *vici*. Martial law had been proclaimed. The fighting men had felt the touch of the leader born. And the whole aspect of the war had been changed in the twinkling of an eye.

2. Michillimackinac.—Brock had long foreseen that the best defence in the West was an attack on this American post, which was situated on an island in the straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan, 255 miles N.N.W. of Detroit.

The best defence always is attack, whenever the attackers can destroy the enemy's means of destroying them. Brock left the initiative to Captain Roberts, who commanded at St. Joseph's Island, and who was in a position to judge whether to strike or stand fast to repel attack himself. Brock wrote on the 4th of July. Roberts received the letter on the 15th, and the next day set out for the attack with a motley little force of 400 Indians, 180 French-Canadians, and 45 men of the 10th Royal Veterans, which was his own corps. His artillery consisted of only two "unwieldy" iron 6-pounders. The distance was nearly fifty miles. But, as he gratefully reported, "by the almost unparalleled exertions of the Canadians who manned the boats we arrived at the place of Rendezvous at 3 o'clock the following morning." At ten he had a gun in position and all his men ready to storm the post. A summons was then sent in; and, as the American lieutenant in charge had only fifty-nine effectives, a surrender was soon agreed upon.

The effect was tremendous and immediate. The news ran like wildfire along every land and water trail throughout the West. As this was the first feat of arms performed in the war it naturally attracted much more than the usual amount of excited attention. It encouraged the Indians already on the British side, won over the waverers, and made neutrals of those who might have joined the Americans. Michillimackinac was at the cross-roads of all the western lines of communication, especially the water lines along the Lakes; and the possession of both it and St. Joseph's Island settled the local control as well as the essential link of connection with the East for the rest of the war.

Michillimackinac was not the only American reverse in the West. Chicago, then known as Fort Dearborn, appeared in history for the first time, as a place of political importance, when, on the 9th of August, Captain Heald received Hull's orders to evacuate the fort and make his way to Detroit.

PORTRAIT OF SIR ISAAC BROCK.

From the miniature by J. Hudson in 1806 in the possession of Miss Sara Mickle, Toronto, Canada.

To face p. 25

Unfortunately a good deal of strong drink had been given to the Indians round about when the stores were distributed with a view to securing a safe retreat among "friendlies." The inevitable result followed. An Indian attack began. Most of the 66 Americans were killed or captured. Heald and his wife were rescued and cared for by a trader, and then sent to Roberts, who treated them with the utmost kindness at Michillimackinac before sending them home to Pittsburg.

3. Detroit.—The American plan of campaign included a double invasion of Upper Canada. Hull was to move in from Detroit, van Rensselaer across the Niagara. This combination, if successful, would cut off the main peninsula of Ontario, lying between Lakes Ontario and St. Clair; and, if this peninsula fell wholly into American occupation, Michillimackinac and the connection with the West would fall with it. Lake Erie is nearly 250 miles long and 60 at its widest. Neither side had a flotilla to control it when the war broke out; but the preponderance of force at first was in favour of the British. On the other hand, here as elsewhere, American resources vastly exceeded British in every way. There had been forts at Sandusky and on the Maumee (Miami) before, and there were to be again. But the immediate objective for British attack was Detroit, just across a river dividing it from Canadian territory, and chosen by Hull as his advanced base for the invasion of Canada from the West. Detroit had a fort, the strongest then existing in the West, and a settlement of almost 1000 people. Three miles down the Detroit River on the Canadian side stood the tiny unfortified village of Sandwich. The river is about half a mile wide and either side could be commanded by artillery on the other. The country is almost uniformly flat. It was then well wooded and very swampy in several places.

Hull reached Detroit on the 5th of July with 2500 men. He bombarded Sandwich, where a little British battery was then being built; and, having crossed on the night of the 11th, issued his proclamation on the 13th. The following is the full text :—

By William Hull, Brigadier General and Commander of the North Western Army of the United States

A PROCLAMATION

Inhabitants of Canada! After thirty years of Peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to Arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have *once more* left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my Command has invaded your Country and the standard of the United States waves on the territory of Canada. To the peaceful unoffending inhabitant, It brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to *find* enemies not to *make* them. I come to *protect*, not to *injure* you.

Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive Wilderness from Great Britain you have no participation in her counsels, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her Tyranny, you have seen her injustice; but I do not ask *you* to avenge the one or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security consistent with their rights & your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of Civil, Political, & Religious Liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity: That liberty which gave decision to our counsels and energy to our conduct in our struggle for INDEPENDENCE, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly thro' the stormy period of the Revolution.

That Liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank

among the Nations of the world and which has afforded us a greater measure of Peace & Security wealth and prosperity than ever fell to the Lot of any people.

In the name of my *Country* and by the authority of my Government I promise you protection to your *persons, property, and rights.* Remain at your homes, Pursue your peaceful and customary avocations. Raise not your hands against your brethren, many of your fathers fought for the freedom & *Independence* we now enjoy. Being children therefore of the same family with us, and heirs to the same Heritage, the arrival of an army of Friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from Tyranny and oppression and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest & the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will Stalk before you.

If the barbarous and Savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our Citizens and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination.

The first stroke with the Tomahawk, the first attempt with the Scalping Knife, will be the Signal for one indiscriminate scene of desolation. *No white man found fighting by the Side of an Indian will be taken prisoner.* Instant destruction will be his Lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity cannot prevent the employment of a force, which respects no rights & knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation.

I do not doubt your courage and firmness; I will not

doubt your attachment to Liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily they will be accepted readily.

The United States offer you *Peace*, *Liberty*, and *Security:* your choice lies between these, & *War*, *Slavery*, *and destruction.* Choose then, but choose wisely; and may he who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of Nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and prosperity.

WM. HULL.

By the General
A. F. HULL.
Capt., 13 U.S. Regt. of Infantry & A.D.C.
Head Quarters at Sandwich,
July 13th 1812.

The total British force arrayed against Hull was not a quarter of his own strength, and only a quarter of it consisted of regulars. Colonel St. George held Fort Malden and Amherstburg, both exceedingly weak. If Hull had only pressed home his attack he must have succeeded. But he sent out raiding and requisition parties, some eastwards up the Thames, others southwards to the Rivière aux Canards. At the latter place the first action of the war was fought, a little skirmish in which a British outpost and Tecumseh's Indians drove back the inexpert American levies.

Brock's first idea was to reinforce St. George by the line of the Thames. But unavoidable delays made this impracticable. He then sent Colonel Procter, of the 41st, to take command at Amherstburg, whither a few more of this regiment soon followed. Meanwhile Hull had been lengthening without strengthening his long line of communication with the south. He was a good way north of the Maumee, and he had crossed the Detroit eastwards without having the local command of the water. Procter immediately decided to cut his line by crossing the river

in his rear. On the 5th of August Tecumseh ambushed 200 Americans near Brownstown on the Huron River, just opposite Amherstburg and at the mouth of the Detroit. The American dispatches were captured. This was the second time that the same misfortune had overtaken Hull; for an American schooner bearing dispatches had been taken a month before, immediately on the receipt of the news that war had been declared. Hull then brought back his army from the Canadian side on the 7th and the next day sent out 600 men to reopen communications to the south. He was not yet short of supplies; but he would soon be in a very precarious situation if cut off from his base altogether. On the 9th 600 Americans were checked at Maguaga, four miles short of Brownstown. They returned to Detroit on the 10th. On the 11th Hull brought back the last of his men from the Canadian side. Finally, on the 13th he sent out a picked force of 400 under Colonel MacArthur to work round southwards through the woods.

That same night Brock landed at Amherstburg. He had prorogued the Upper Canada legislature on the 5th, crossed to Burlington Bay, marched over the neck of the Niagara peninsula to Lake Erie, and embarked on the 8th with 300 men at Long Point. When he arrived on the 13th there were five guns threatening Detroit from the ground on which Windsor now stands; and Hull, old, weak, hesitating, and discouraged, was already thinking of surrender. Some show of resistance, however, was required, and Brock's first summons was rejected.

Meanwhile Brock had met Tecumseh; and each had recognised a hero in the other. Tecumseh presented Brock to the assembled braves with the laconic commendation, *This is a man;* and Brock's short speech, delivered with great vigour, was greeted with deep murmurs of admiration. Hull was growing more and more afraid of the Indians, whose

numbers were absurdly exaggerated by American camp gossip. Brock, divining this, emphasized the dangers that might follow resistance; though he and his officers, with Tecumseh, did all they could to provide against any excesses, and the behaviour of the Indians was particularly good throughout.

Brock met his principal officers, listened to all they had to say, found out that only Colonel Nichol and Tecumseh thought it right to risk all in an immediate attack on Detroit, and then announced his own decision in favour of making it. He was far too strong a man to hold a council of war. He had about 1300 effectives, with whom he proposed to attack greater numbers in a fortified position. Only half these effectives were whites; and only half the whites were regulars. Yet he at once divined the right line of action and was amply justified by the event. The Indians, under Tecumseh and Colonel Elliot, crossed over on the night of the 15th. The whites followed next morning. This crossing, in broad daylight, was well covered by the fire of the *Queen Charlotte*, a small armed vessel, and by the batteries above Sandwich. The landing was made at Spring Wells, four miles below Detroit and a little below the point directly opposite to Sandwich. Brock's object was to tempt Hull out of Detroit into an attack in the open, where the few regulars could act with the greatest effect, while the Indians could have full scope on the wooded left. At the same time the *Queen Charlotte* and the Canadian batteries could offer strong support on the right.

But he had no sooner landed and formed up facing Detroit than the Indians brought in news of MacArthur, whom Hull had sent south on the 13th, and who was now said, with the usual exaggeration, to have 600 instead of barely 400 men. MacArthur was being recalled; and Brock had only a moment to make up his mind whether to retreat, turn about and form a new front, or advance on Detroit itself. Detroit

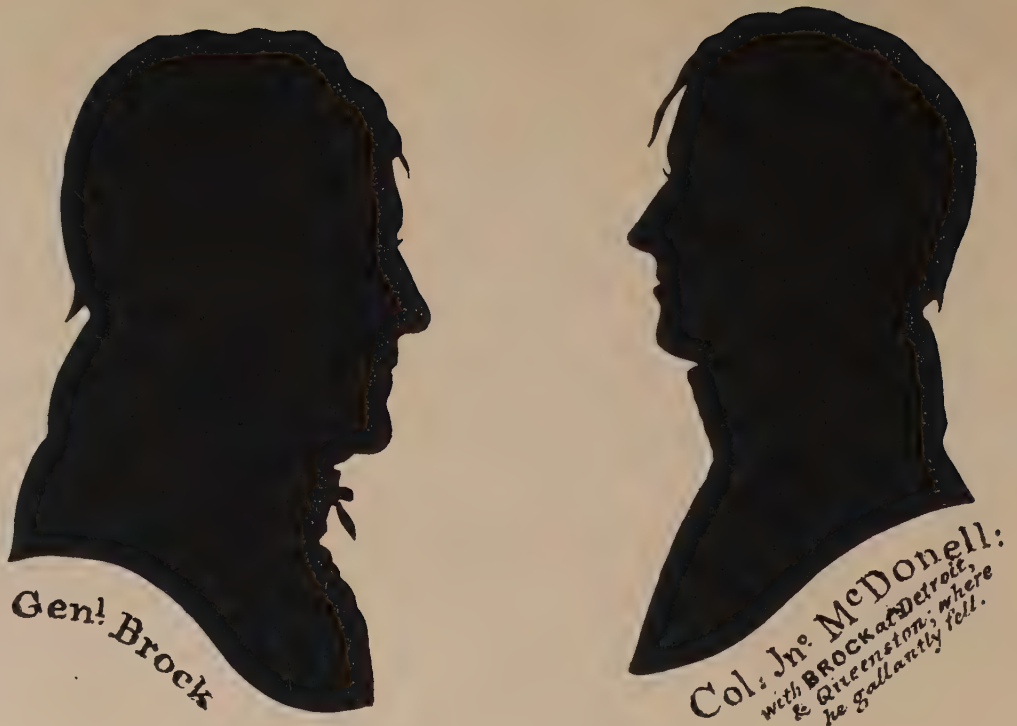
was a strong fort in its way; much too strong to be rushed if held by steady troops. It had a moat eight feet deep and twelve feet wide. Its palisades of sharpened hardwood were ten feet high and the ramparts rose over twenty feet. There were more than thirty guns, 24-pounders among them; and there was a clear field of fire all round for every effective range. The British artillery on the ground consisted of three 6-pounders and two 3-pounders, quite useless except in the open. But the *Queen Charlotte* and the Sandwich battery redoubled their fire as they suddenly realised that Brock was actually advancing to the attack. One shot killed four men near Hull. The redcoats seemed all regulars, as most of the militia had been uniformed in spare clothing belonging to the 41st. Their numbers, like those of the Indians, were absurdly exaggerated; and perhaps there really was some excuse for Hull's belief that Brock's self-confident little force was only part of a much greater whole. The first warwhoops of the Indians were now heard from the woods a mile and a half inland. Hull, finding enemies on both flanks, as well as straight in front of him, thereupon gave way and sent a flag and *parlementaire* over to the Sandwich battery. Captain Hall, of the *Queen Charlotte*, sent back word that Brock was outside Detroit in person.

Brock had meanwhile continued to advance till he came within twelve hundred yards of the fort. He did not yet know of the flag sent across the river; and it was only when he was about to resume his advance and storm the walls, after reconnoitring them for a few minutes, that he saw an American officer coming out to make terms. The surrender was soon effected. The Americans marched out; the British marched in; and the whole of Hull's army, MacArthur's force included, became prisoners of war. The territory of Michigan was placed under the administration of the British commandant at Detroit. The stores surrendered were of almost priceless value, as there was an extreme

scarcity throughout the remainder of the West. There was sufficient food to have enabled Hull to hold out for a much longer time. But he had an undisciplined force under him, and a disciplined one against him. And that made all the difference.

The effect of the surrender was even greater than the effect of the surrender of Michillimackinac a month before. Michillimackinac was an Indian affair in most men's eyes, though very alarming to the American West because it "opened the hive" of Indians and let the swarms out all along the frontier. But Detroit was a white man's victory and defeat. It meant that Brock was a consummate leader in civilised war and that he would be a dangerous man along the Niagara, and perhaps much farther east and south. It meant that the demagogues had been egregiously wrong when they tried to persuade a public ignorant of war that a raw militia fired by flashy enthusiasm was equal to the conquest of half a continent. It meant, too, that the American plan of campaign for 1812 had hopelessly broken down.

4. Queenston.—Leaving Procter in charge of the West Brock hurried back to the Niagara in the hope of striking another stunning blow before the unwieldy American amateur forces in that quarter had been prepared for action. He had been only seventeen days away. In that time he had covered more than 600 miles, rowing, sailing, or marching, and had changed the whole face of the war. What was his disgust to find, on his return to the Niagara frontier, that Prevost had made an armistice which worked wholly for the benefit of the Americans and to the detriment of the British. Both governments had continued negotiations. But as the American terms began by insisting on a recognition of their own view there was no chance that the suspension of hostilities would produce peace. On the 27th of October the British overtures were definitely rejected



SILHOUETTES OF SIR ISAAC BROCK AND COLONEL JOHN MACDONELL.

From originals in the possession of Æmilius Jarvis, Esq., Toronto.

To face p. 32

by James Monroe, then Secretary of State, whose name afterwards became famous in connection with the Monroe Doctrine. In the meantime much harm had been done, and much more had been threatened, to the British cause along the Niagara frontier. Prevost had prepared the armistice on the 2nd of August. On the 26th Dearborn, the American commander-in-chief, wrote back saying that as there had been no understanding between the respective governments he would consider that the state of war should be resumed within four days of the receipt of his letter by Prevost. The terms were that there should be a complete cessation of hostilities on both sides, that no British reinforcements should go west, but that the American lines of communication should be worked as usual. This well-meant effort on the part of Prevost to make peace at any price baulked Brock both at Sackett's Harbour and Niagara. From Kingston Brock hoped to strike at Sackett's Harbour before it was turned into the formidable base it afterwards became. Failing Sackett's Harbour he would have attacked the assembling Americans across the Niagara. Failing this, he might have raided their line of supply. But their vessels, which had been cooped up in Ogdensburg, under the guns of Fort Wellington opposite, now reinforced Sackett's Harbour. Many sail moved west, by Lake Ontario, to Fort Niagara, whence stores and armaments were distributed along the frontier with impunity. Reinforcements poured into the American camp and moved freely to any desired point. Farther west Procter and the Indians were held back from attacking Fort Wayne, which eventually proved to be a fatal base of operations against the Canadian Lake Erie region, worse even than Sackett's Harbour was against the Canadian side of Lake Ontario. The only satisfaction was that Hull had been given a command so entirely separate from Dearborn's that his surrender could not be nullified by Prevost's armistice.

Immediately after the armistice expired, on the 8th of September, Brock again proposed a dash on Sackett's Harbour. But Prevost refused to sanction it. He would have stopped Brock's dash on Detroit if he had only been near enough at the time. But his messenger was too slow. An attack on the American side of the Niagara frontier was now out of the question. Under cover of the armistice—but not dishonourably, because Prevost allowed them to do it—the Americans had assembled a force formidable in numbers though nothing to boast of in discipline. Referring to the terms of the armistice, arranged between Sheaffe and himself, Solomon van Rensselaer, chief of staff to his cousin, Stephen van Rensselaer, said: "The importance of this arrangement has never been sufficiently appreciated. The immediate and pressing necessity for it on our part was that without it the ordnance and supplies intended for our army, having been collected at Oswego, were not likely ever to reach us. The roads were impassable, especially for heavy cannon, and the highway of the Lake was beset by a triumphant enemy." The British could not have had a better opportunity to follow up their blow at Detroit; for the prisoners from the West were marched along the Canadian side, in full view of the Americans, which, according to Solomon van Rensselaer's own account, "spread great alarm among the inhabitants and produced strong symptoms of distrust among the troops."

There was plenty of politics in uniform in the American camp, a greater danger to an army than even the typhoid from which the raw levies with a raw medical department were suffering already. On the 1st of September, seven days before the end of the armistice, there were only 691 men fit for duty opposite Queenston and Fort George. On the 12th of October there were 5206 actually on that frontier. Early in September Dearborn, the American commander-in-chief, advised Van Rensselaer to "make good a sure retreat,"

if sharply attacked, and warned him that Fort Niagara was "a trap for the garrison." But Stephen van Rensselaer was stouter-hearted and resolved to stand his ground. He was no soldier, but a civilian made a major-general much against his will and against the interests of his country, partly because he was the political rival of Governor Tompkins and partly to emphasize the fact that regular officers were of small account in war. Tompkins calculated that Van Rensselaer could be denounced as a coward if he refused to act. With equal shrewdness Tompkins calculated that if Van Rensselaer accepted he would either lose credit by defeat, or else be compelled to work for the war party, to which he was politically opposed, by winning a victory. Solomon van Rensselaer was a well-trained regular. The second-in-command was also in the United States Army. But this man, Smyth, was a miserable specimen of his class, having none of the virtues of the soldier and most of the vices of the demagogue.

In October confidence began to grow as reinforcements arrived; and Van Rensselaer called a council of war, which Smyth refused to attend. The plan, which was due to Solomon van Rensselaer, was sensible enough. "That we may immediately concentrate the available force in the neighbourhood of Niagara, and the militia here [opposite Queenston] make the best possible disposition, and at the same time the regulars shall pass from the 4-mile creek to a point in rear of Fort George and take it by storm. I will pass up the river here and carry the heights of Queenston." This would have effectually cut the line on the Canadian side; and there seemed, at the time, a fair prospect of success, if only all the forces could be manœuvred into position properly. With some new reinforcements coming in at the last minute, as well as with the men at and near Four-Mile Creek, Van Rensselaer had a grand total of about 6800, including Smyth's command. Brock had no more than

a quarter of this, 1700. But he had a higher proportion of regulars, of trained militia, and, most important of all, of disciplined officers.

On the 9th, the day after the American council of war, Lieutenant Elliott, of the United States Navy, cut out the *Adams*, which Brock had taken at Detroit, and the *Caledonia*, which belonged to the British North West Company. As these vessels were lying at Fort Erie the news came down the same day. The excitement among the American militia was intense; and they clamoured so loudly to be led into Canada that Van Rensselaer felt obliged to satisfy them quickly.

On the night of the 10th an abortive attempt was made against Queenston. The attack was timed for 3 A.M. on the 11th and the men were drawn up waiting for the landing place to be seized. But the officer in the leading boat overshot the mark, made fast to the bank, and then disappeared altogether. During the whole of the 11th and 12th the boats remained at Lewiston, in full view of Queenston, where the river is only 250 yards wide. The hint conveyed by the position of these boats, the revelation of Van Rensselaer's plan for the 10th, and the knowledge that American regulars were waiting at Four-Mile Creek, all made it seem more than ever likely that the feint was to be against Queenston and the real attack against Fort George.

The American plan had to be modified, in any case, as Smyth refused to co-operate in carrying it out. His new part was to concentrate all the men he could spare on Lewiston. This pleased him no better; but he did eventually send some down. Reinforcements were brought in more effectively from Four-Mile Creek by the new road running diagonally through the bush under perfect cover. The final plan was to feint against Fort George, at all events by a bombardment, while Queenston was attacked in full force. Solomon van Rensselaer was put in charge of the advanced

guard: 300 regulars, 300 picked militia, and 40 gunners—total 640. About 700 more regulars were to follow at once, then the rest of the army which was available. The grand total for the attack was about 4000. Brock's available total for the defence at that point hardly exceeded 1000; and this total could not be concentrated in advance, or very quickly at any time, as the Americans had the initiative.

Brock himself was at Fort George, which appeared to be the pivot on which the whole attack would turn. The 300 British near Queenston also expected to be attacked, though they did not know whether the attack was to be a feint or not. Major Evans had noted preparations over at Lewiston. He had gone there under a flag of truce at the same time that Solomon van Rensselaer had come over to the British side for similar negotiations about prisoners, sniping, &c. The only other British troops within call, and rather distant call, were the few at Chippawa, just above the Falls. The garrison of Fort Erie had to take care of their own end of the line. Twenty miles of the Niagara, above the Falls, were passable in boats between low banks. The next nine miles were quite impassable. The last seven, from Queenston to Fort George, were passable, between high banks, in a few minutes. At Queenston, despite the strength of the current, a crossing could be made in ten minutes. The great natural feature here was the Heights, which ran for many miles on either side of the river, and at right angles to it, with a maximum elevation of 345 feet. It was evident that whoever held these Heights on both sides could cut the direct line across both the Canadian and American peninsulas on either side of the Niagara.

The 300 British in and near Queenston consisted of two companies of Brock's own regiment, the 49th, supported by detachments of militia. There was a single gun on the Heights and another a mile away at Vrooman's Point. Two miles farther down the river another detachment of militia

guarded another 24-pounder. Seven miles from the Heights were the headquarters at Fort George with Brock and Sheaffe, his second-in-command.

Solomon van Rensselaer ferried his leading detachment of 300 across at half-past three, with the exception of 75, who were carried down by the current. As the first men climbed the bank a sentry gave the alarm and Captain Dennis brought down his Grenadier company of the 49th to drive back the invaders. The American supports were slow in arriving, and the 225 who had effected a lodgment had to keep under the shelter of the steep bank after a most effective volley had been fired straight into them on the level ground above. Solomon van Rensselaer was badly wounded and was ferried back to Lewiston. Colonel Christie, a regular, had difficulty in getting his detachments together and across. The command, therefore, devolved for the time being on Captain Wool, an excellent regular, but young and inexperienced.

When the second part of the advanced guard had landed Wool took more than half the 640 with him and went round by a fisherman's path that curved upstream and on to the Heights in rear of and above the one-gun battery. Though the distance was considerably less than a mile this flanking movement took some time as the men had to grope their way up in single file through the dark and with a precipitous bank beside them. They were soon replaced at the landing by others who arrived under fire. One boat was sunk. Several went ashore too far down, and most of the men in them were made prisoners and marched off to Fort George. But, for all that, the crossing continued effectively.

Meanwhile Brock, who was down at Fort George, had been awakened by the cannonade from the eighteen-gun battery at Lewiston. These eighteen American guns fired at the flashes of the two British guns opposite and into the

village of Queenston, the range of which had of course been exactly determined beforehand. At first Brock could not tell whether the attack on Queenston was a feint or not. It was hardly 4 A.M.; and for over half an hour he waited anxiously to see where the real attack was going to develop, and whether the main body was not coming round behind Fort George from the American Four-Mile Creek under cover of the fire of Fort Niagara. Then a dragoon galloped in to say the enemy were crossing over to Queenston in force. Brock was already in the saddle. He warned Sheaffe to keep down the fire of Fort Niagara and to be ready to follow towards Queenston with every available man, leaving Evans in charge of Fort George. He then galloped the seven miles to the Heights. Halfway up he met Lieutenant Jarvis galloping down on the same errand as the dragoon. Beckoning Jarvis to turn and gallop beside him he told him to go on to Sheaffe, who was to turn out the reserve and advance at once, with the Indians on the inner flank. He next spurred on to Brown's Point and ordered up the militia there. At Vrooman's he paused another moment, and at five o'clock he dashed into Queenston. He rode his gallant grey charger, Alfred, Craig's parting gift, and wore his full dress uniform of scarlet and gold, with the Indian sash Tecumseh had given him at Detroit. Thus splendidly mounted and dressed he burst out of the dawn like a vision of victory just where the grenadiers of his own old regiment were standing at bay. The ringing cheer with which they greeted him showed what a place he held in every soldier's heart.

He noted the increasing force of Americans lining the bank and ordered down Captain Williams with the light company of the 49th to reinforce the grenadiers under Dennis in the village. But he hardly drew rein till he reached the little redan, two-thirds of the way up the Heights, where the single 18-pounder was firing hard, in a desperate effort

to hold back the enemy at the landing place. Meanwhile the young American captain, Wool, was still leading his 350 men slowly, in single file, round to the back of the Heights by the fisherman's path, which had been reported to Brock as impassable.

Brock took a good look round the battlefield as day was breaking. He saw large bodies of infantry drawn up at Lewiston, where twenty-four guns were in position. He saw boats crossing over, and several hundred men lining the bank beside Queenston, where about half their number of British were keeping them back. So far he seemed to be holding his own. But just as he was turning to the gunner beside him to advise a longer fuse there was a cheer from the crest of the Heights straight behind him and the bullets from Wool's adventurous Americans came whistling down at his little party in the redan. There was not a moment to lose. Without attempting to mount Brock and his staff ran downhill with the eight gunners into Queenston. Wool immediately occupied the battery with 60 men, who were soon reinforced, as the rest of the 350 came up over the crest by the roundabout fisherman's path.

Brock at once saw the importance of regaining the Heights. Remounting, he got together all the men that could be spared and led them at a trot to a stone wall. Here he turned and said, "Take breath, boys, you'll need it presently," on which they cheered. After a short pause, during which he dismounted, he climbed the wall, followed by about 100 men, and went uphill, inclining to his right, away from the river, so as to take Wool on the left and drive him in on the bank. Wool at once detached 150 men to form front against him and reinforced them with 50 more. But Brock pressed on, waving his sword and encouraging his men. He gained the gun and drove the Americans back to the very edge of the Heights overlooking the river. Still he kept on. A bullet had already hit him slightly; but he paid no atten-

tion to it. Then, just as he was about to make his final rush, a man stepped out of the trees, only thirty yards away, took deliberate aim, and shot him dead. With his fall the British advance began to waver. The men rushed to his aid and one of his own old regiment fell dead across his body. Then they all turned and retreated into Queenston, carrying their fallen leader with them. For the rest of that momentous day the battle raged round the little village where the heart of the whole defence lay dead.

Wool resumed possession of the redan and the Heights, received reinforcements, and ordered his gunners to drill out the spiked 18-pounder and turn it against the British below him. The spiking, however, had been well done, and it could not be drilled out immediately. The news of Brock's death of course became known in Queenston within a few minutes; and his gallant aide-de-camp, Lt.-Colonel John Macdonell, attorney-general of Upper Canada, called on the men there to avenge their leader's fall. About 200 were collected, men of the 49th and York militia. Macdonell rode at their head against the American left, which gave way. The spiked gun was again retaken for a moment. But Macdonell was soon mortally wounded and Williams of the 49th was hard hit. Wool rallied his men. And again the British retreated into Queenston. Wool now had the Stars and Stripes waving triumphantly over the redan in full view of Lewiston. The Americans there immediately pressed down to the landing place and several boats crossed over till the total on the Canadian side amounted to 1600 men. With this force on the Heights, with a larger one drawn up for embarkation opposite, with twenty-four guns in action, with the best British regular and the best British militiaman both killed, with the most commanding British gun taken and held, and with two British attempts at recapture beaten off, the Americans seemed to need nothing but time to entrench. The American killed and wounded were sent back.

Stephen van Rensselaer came over in person, inspected the position, ordered it to be entrenched, left the work in charge of a competent engineer, and went back to get the rest of the army.

But the British 24-pounder at Vrooman's Point was still in most effective action. Captain Holcroft placed a couple of field guns in Queenston to command the crossing. And the regulars and militia were rallied: an easy task, as they were mostly well trained men and had a truly heroic leader in Captain Dennis, of the 49th, who fought undauntedly throughout the day, in spite of his serious wounds. Thus the battle was re-established. Meanwhile the Indians pressed in on the American left, up on the Heights, and worried it greatly. Their warwhoops were heard across the river, where the less eager and less efficient among the Americans were waiting to embark. Holcroft plied the boats with most accurate shell fire; so did the men at Vrooman's Point. The far more numerous American guns were making very bad practice. Sheaffe was coming up with the British reserves in excellent order. And so the men at Lewiston found that, instead of crossing to celebrate a victory, they were expected to fight a new battle, against a stronger enemy, whose guns might sink them on the way over, whose redcoats might charge them with the bayonet on landing, and whose Indians were evidently closing in on the flanks, through the dense bush inland. The egregious Smyth had not come down in force to give the second stimulus. Winfield Scott, the future commander-in-chief of the United States Army, and a very capable soldier, had crossed, as had Wadsworth, a gallant though inexperienced militia brigadier. But their example counted for very little; and before the morning was over it became evident that the men at Lewiston were not going to follow them. Most of the boatmen were of the same mind. The want of discipline told more and more every minute. John Lovett, who fought well on the American

side, writing after the battle, said, "The name of Indian, or the sight of the wounded, or the devil, or something else, petrified them. Not a regiment, not a company, scarcely a man, would go."

Stephen van Rensselaer went through the whole waiting force, some of which had already broken its ranks and straggled back to the safer camp. But he ordered, swore, and beseeched in vain. Far from increasing, his force on the Canadian side began to diminish. The boats there were seized and pushed off till not a serviceable one was left. The men that came back told the most blood-curdling lies to justify their own poltroonery; and the panic spread even to the camp. About 1200 men were now left on the Heights or vainly looking for boats to get away from the landing place; while about an equal number of British were manœuvring steadily to attack them.

Sheaffe saw the predicament of the Americans on the Heights and decided to attack them in flank by making a wide inland detour round by St. David's. He took his time, as the 150 men from Chippawa could hardly arrive before two. Holcroft and the men at Vrooman's, supported by the 200 infantry in Queenston who faced the Americans on the Heights, he left to command the river. He then marched inland, wheeled to his left, gained the Heights more than a mile from the nearest Americans, and formed his line of attack at leisure, facing the river. The men from Chippawa marched in just as he was ready. The Indians spread out on his flanks, thrown rather forward; and he advanced in perfect order, in one long, steady, enveloping line, on the top of the Heights, at right angles to their run and parallel to the Niagara. The Americans now had to form a new front at right angles to their old one, and face directly inland, with their backs to the river, instead of facing Queenston, with their right to the river. Their ranks were thinning fast, men were slinking off at every opportunity

and climbing down the cliffs in vain search of boats. There was a good deal of confusion in forming the new front, even with the 600 men who were ready to stand fast. There were men without officers and officers without men. Some had ammunition in plenty, others had little or none. Wadsworth ran along the line urging everyone to fight to the last. He waived his rank in favour of Winfield Scott, who did all a good soldier could do under the circumstances. But the last men were not in their proper places, and the hasty breastwork had hardly been well begun, before the British were upon them.

The flanks were the shakiest part of the American formation, the left being enclosed by the woods and the right exposed to Holcroft's guns and the 24-pounder from Vrooman's Point, all three of which fired furiously when they saw Sheaffe closing in. As the two lines came within musket-shot the Indians rushed forward, whooping madly. The line of redcoats brought their bayonets down and charged. The Americans fired a straggling fusilade, hasty, short, and ineffective; and then their whole line broke up into a wild mob of panic-stricken fugitives. Some ran down to the Queenston landing, others straight down from the crest of the Heights to the river below. Many were killed or injured in the attempt. A few swam across. A good many were drowned. Those who made a fight for it were mostly put out of action with the bayonet. At last Winfield Scott, seeing that further resistance was suicidal, waved his handkerchief on the point of his sword. Sheaffe then came up and received the surrender.

It was now about three in the afternoon, twelve hours since the Americans had first paraded to embark. When all the prisoners had been collected they were found to number 958. The killed and wounded numbered over 300 more. Against this American loss of 1200 odd there was a British loss of about 150. Only two British officers

had been killed in action. But they were Brock and Macdonell.

The battle of Queenston Heights, coming to point the moral of Detroit, settled the fate of the whole campaign of 1812. But Sheaffe, who was born in New England before the Revolution, and who had many American connections, was criminally weak after the battle had been won. Evans had driven the Americans out of Fort Niagara, which might have been seized and held against Van Rensselaer's beaten force, now deprived of its best men. With the mouth of the river under British control the American hold on the frontier might have been almost shaken off. Brock would have done it in a week. But Sheaffe concluded an armistice, at first for three days, then for an indefinite time; and the military advantages of victory were wantonly thrown away.

The political advantages, however, using the word political in its higher and more statesmanlike sense, were immense and far-reaching and, fortunately for the British cause, not such as are easily destroyed, even by men like Sheaffe and Prevost. They were, indeed, permanent, as they confirmed that spirit of undismayed loyalty which was the better genius of the people for whom Brock fought and fell.

5. Frenchman's Creek.—Smyth succeeded Van Rensselaer and issued a couple of bombastic proclamations, accusing previous American leaders of the very faults which he was about to exhibit in the highest degree himself. He was a far worse soldier than the unfortunate Van Rensselaer, who was really no soldier at all. But he took advantage of Sheaffe's armistice, as Van Rensselaer had taken advantage of Prevost's, to build some boats above the Falls and bring others overland from Lake Ontario. His headquarters were at Black Rock, near Buffalo; and by the 19th of November, when he gave notice of the termination of the armistice, he was ready to carry out his own idea of what an invasion of Canada should

be. On the 26th he reported that he had 3000 men ready to cross, and on the 27th General Porter, one of his principal officers, estimated that the boats could accommodate 3500 out of the grand total of 4500 effectives at or about Black Rock.

The numbers of the British along the seventeen miles of the Upper Niagara, between Lake Erie and the Falls, were even more inadequate than usual. Altogether they did not exceed one-tenth of the American total at Black Rock. There were 130 at Fort Erie, rather less at the ferry directly opposite Black Rock, only the light company of the 41st at Frenchman's Creek, and a few regulars and militia at Chippawa; while still smaller detachments took post between these various points.

Between 2 and 3 A.M. on the 28th one party of the Americans, consisting of regulars and sailors, landed near Red House, two and a half miles below Fort Erie. There were only 40 or 50 British here with two light guns. The alarm had been given by the Canadian militia at the ferry, a mile and a half higher up, and the first attack was repulsed. The Americans then made a detour, rushed the Red House, and took both the guns there as well as the two at the next post. This skirmish was followed by many confused movements in the dark. The different British detachments marched up and down, unable to distinguish friend from foe. The Americans became divided and lost their hold on the position they had just won. Some of them recrossed the river with prisoners and their own wounded. Others wandered off aimlessly. The thirty men who stood by their commanding officer were all taken by the returning British shortly after dawn.

In the meantime another attacking party reached Frenchman's Creek, tried, but failed, to destroy the bridge, so as to cut the line between Chippawa and Fort Erie, and then recrossed on the approach of British reinforcements. A

third American party was beaten back in broad daylight. The four captured British guns were all retaken; and the position on the Canadian side was re-established. But the loss was severe for so small a force to suffer. There were nearly 100 killed, wounded, or prisoners; almost two-thirds of the total British loss at Queenston.

Smyth was disconcerted by the failure of his advanced parties. But he embarked his army and held a boat review before dinner. He sent over a flag of truce to Colonel Bisshopp, the very capable young British commander, asking for the immediate surrender of Fort Erie, "to spare the effusion of blood. Bisshopp refused." But no more blood was shed. Next day Smyth prepared to get ready to begin on the morning of the day after. But his officers objected to crossing by daylight on the 30th. So he spent two days more in preparing a surprise attack before dawn on the 1st of December. When day broke on the 1st there were 1500 men in the boats who wanted to go back and 3000 men ashore who refused to go forward. The whole 4500 naturally objected to being led into an evident trap after so much preparation. A council of war followed. The decision announced by Smyth was to await further reinforcements before invading Canada. One of his generals wrote that "a scene of confusion ensued, which it is difficult to describe: about 4000 men without order or restraint discharging their muskets in every direction." Next day the "Committee of Patriotic Citizens of the Western Counties of New York" lectured Smyth on his fiasco. But he retorted, with only too much truth, that "the affair at Queenston is a caution against relying on crowds who go to the banks of the Niagara to look at a battle as on a theatrical exhibition." He then reported officially and wound up by asking for leave of absence to visit his family. Thereupon he secured his leave, with instant dismissal from the service; and the farce was over for the season.

6. St. Regis and La Colle.—The frontier ran eastward along the 45th parallel, from St. Regis on the St. Lawrence to the northern parts of New Hampshire and the state of Maine. The best and oldest line of invasion here was by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River, which discharges into Lake St. Peter at Sorel. But a footing beside Lake St. Francis, threatening the long, thin, weak line of British communications with Upper Canada and the West, was also an important object. This frontier was open almost throughout its whole length. The British therefore established a chain of posts with a few supporting parties in the rear. This cordon was composed chiefly of the Canadian Voltigeurs, who were French-Canadian regulars under De Salaberry, a vigilant and most capable leader, who, like his three brothers, was a regular officer in the Imperial Army.

On the 23rd of October some 300 Americans suddenly attacked the little post at St. Regis, which was held by a few Canadian Voyageurs under the command of Lieutenant Rottotte. Rottotte fought most gallantly till he and his sergeant were killed. The Americans then took possession. But the party of occupation which was left behind was itself attacked and taken a month later, on the 23rd of November.

Another attack on this frontier was made at La Colle, near the border, where a little river of that name joins the Richelieu. In the early morning of the 20th of November two parties of Americans moved to the attack from opposite directions. The Canadian outpost withdrew in the dark. The Americans fired into each other and at last retired before the advance of Canadian reinforcements. General Dearborn then put the American army into winter quarters; and the year's campaign was over in this quarter almost before it had well begun. Dearborn had the good excuse, however, that his men were mostly mere levies, while 1900 well-disciplined British soldiers, mostly regulars, had been

sent to Lacadie, half way between Montreal and the frontier, when he was reported to be advancing.

7. Miscellaneous, 1812.—A good deal of Intelligence work was done during the winter of 1812–13. Much attention was paid to blockhouses and other minor fortifications. But more attention was devoted to the Indians; and most of all to the burning question of supply and transport. Brock's system of batteaux had not been properly developed. There was a shortage of sleighs in winter and boats in summer. But a corps of excellent French-Canadian voyageurs had been organised and their services proved invaluable throughout the war. On the whole the greatest difficulty was not so much with the means of transport as with the things to be transported; for all kinds of military stores were dangerously deficient.

CHAPTER III

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST, AT FRENCHTOWN; AND IN THE EAST, AT OGDENSBURG. 1813

THE American plan of campaign for 1813 was sensible enough. It aimed at getting control of Lakes Erie and Ontario by means of joint expeditions designed to isolate Michillimackinac and the Niagara peninsula. Then a combined movement was to be made against Montreal, part of the invading force going down the St. Lawrence to meet another part which was coming from the south. The two divisions were to concentrate at St. Regis before the final advance. But the execution of these ideas was most defective. Lake Erie was completely won; but nothing was done against Michillimackinac. Lake Ontario was effectively raided at York and Fort George, and Prevost's attack on Sackett's Harbour was repulsed. But the line was not permanently cut at York; Kingston was not attacked; and the Niagara peninsula, which had been feebly held, was ultimately abandoned. The worst American failure, however, was the combined attack on the Montreal frontier. Here the two American generals disagreed; both were late; both were defeated; and their effective combination was never carried out at all.

This campaign was the most sprawling and sporadic part of this sprawling and sporadic war. To describe it in detail would be confusing. Merely the outlines of it, therefore, will be given here. The details must be left to be filled in by the documents.

1. Frenchtown.—Hull's successor in the west was Harrison, whose reputation was based on his victory over the Indians at Tippecanoe in 1811, while Tecumseh was away. Harrison had one wing on the Maumee under Winchester, the other on the Sandusky under his own command. The plan was to meet at the Maumee rapids and advance on Detroit and Amherstburg. Winchester reached the rendezvous on the 10th of January. Thirty-five miles north, and a little more than half way to Detroit, stood Frenchtown, a little settlement on the Raisin River, garrisoned by 50 Canadians under Major Reynolds and by nearly 100 Indians. The French-speaking inhabitants were afraid of the Indians and probably thought it safest to be on good terms with the bigger army. So they sent word to Winchester, who at once detached Lewis to advance and drive Reynolds back to Brownstown on the 18th. On the 20th Winchester arrived at Frenchtown and Harrison at the Maumee rapids.

News of these movements reached Procter, the British commander at Amherstburg, on the 19th. On the 20th he crossed the frozen river to Brownstown, where he found himself with 1000 men, half whites, half Indians. Marching rapidly he attacked Winchester's 1000 whites at dawn on the 22nd. The Americans were surprised; though they had more than half expected an attack the night before. The British centre was composed of regulars. The militia were on their immediate flanks, the Indians on the extreme flanks. The fighting was very heavy in the centre, where the Americans had good cover. The American flanks, which were enveloped by the Indians, gave way, first on the right, then on the left. Winchester was taken when the right was broken, and he agreed to capitulate. The British loss was 24 killed and 158 wounded. The Americans lost about 500, with a very high proportion of killed, chiefly due to the infuriated Indians, who could not be restrained for some time after the surrender, and who undoubtedly got out

of hand. The fight was not closed on civilised principles. But there was now, as before and afterwards, war to the knife between the Indians and the dispossessing and exterminating Americans—a war which was inevitable between two races who were natural enemies under existing conditions. There were the usual accusations and recriminations; also the usual exaggerations. Winchester was perfectly safe and was being well treated when Harrison was writing: "I have seen one man who asserts that he saw General Winchester killed, scalped, and his bowels taken out." Procter retired on the line of the Detroit. Harrison began to build Fort Meigs on the Maumee River. And a pause of three months ensued.

2. Ogdensburg.—Ogdensburg had long been a thorn in the side of the British along the Upper St. Lawrence. From it vessels went up to Sackett's Harbour, openly during Prevost's armistice, surreptitiously afterwards. From it raids were undertaken across the ice; and there even was a chance that from it Prevost might have been cut off on his way up country on the 22nd of February if he had not given a grudging assent to Macdonell's proposal to attack and take it at once. Prevost was no sooner clear of Prescott than Macdonell formed up and set off across the ice, a distance of nearly a mile and a half. He had about 500 men, the same number as the Americans. His force consisted of a small detachment of the 8th, some of the Glengarries and Newfoundlanders, some local militiamen, and four light guns.

The Americans held both sides of the mouth of the Oswegatchie, with artillery on both sides and an old French fort on the upper side. The ground rose enough to give commanding fire, but not enough to be obstructive in itself. The assault on the fort was repulsed with loss. But Macdonell himself carried the village at the point of the bayonet

in excellent style and then summoned the fort from the high ground commanding it. After a short bombardment the garrison ran; whereupon the victory was completed by the total destruction of the barracks, two armed schooners, and two gunboats. Seventy prisoners and eleven guns were taken as well as various stores. The general effect was to give security to that part of the Canadian frontier for the rest of the campaign.

[The Macdonell mentioned here was Colonel "Red George" Macdonell, whom we shall meet again at Châteauguay. The Macdonells were Roman Catholic, Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. Many of them entered the British service during the Seven Years' War and then settled in the northern parts of New York. These men left after the American Revolution, during which they had served in a Loyalist corps, afterwards the 84th Foot. Other Macdonells came out from Scotland between the Revolution and the War of 1812, notably their chaplain, Alexander Macdonell, afterwards first bishop of Upper Canada.]

CHAPTER IV

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST: THE MAUMEE, FORT MEIGS, AND FORT STEPHENSON. 1813

FORT MEIGS.—On the 23rd of April Procter started for the Maumee with 1000 whites. He had a slightly greater number of Indians, some of whom joined only after his arrival. There were 400 men of his own regiment, the 41st. The Indians were led by Tecumseh. Heavy rains caused delay; and it was the 1st of May before his battery opened fire on the fort. A second and a third battery opened, but without decisive effect. These batteries were thrown forward rather far from the camp and were guarded only by the two flank companies of the 41st in face of a strong enemy. Meanwhile Harrison heard of his own approaching reinforcements under Clay. He ordered Clay to carry the batteries with 800 men and then cross over at once to join the camp. Clay sent Dudley with the 800, who rushed the batteries and spiked the guns, but who did not cross over as ordered. Some of the men skirmished off towards the woods and were cut up by the Indians. Others remained at the batteries, where they were attacked and either driven out or taken by Procter. Only 150 escaped to report in Harrison's camp. This success, however, could not turn the tide. The Indians began to leave in large numbers. The militia had to be sent home by detachments to their farms. So Procter was left with barely 500 men in face of greatly superior numbers and a very strong fort. He therefore broke camp on the 9th and retreated.

2. FORT STEPHENSON.—Procter's difficulties now rapidly increased. The Indians had to be fed, though provisions

were running short. The militia could not be called out in force. Men and means were lacking everywhere.

Nevertheless, with a slight reinforcement of the 41st and a new gathering of Indians, Procter set out for the other American stronghold, Fort Stephenson, towards the end of July. His first idea was to try Fort Meigs again. But it was evidently beyond his strength. Fort Stephenson on the Sandusky seemed more promising; and he went up to attack it on the 1st of August. Major Croghan, the commandant, had only 160 men and a single gun. But the fort itself was well made and Procter's artillery was much too light to breach it. The assault was delivered on the 2nd and beaten back with a British loss of about 100 men. Procter then retired and remained on the defensive till the final disaster in October.

CHAPTER V

OPERATIONS ON LAKE ONTARIO: YORK, FORT GEORGE, AND SACKETT'S HARBOUR. 1813

YORK.—The American plan for 1813 had included an attack on Kingston about the 1st of April. But in March Dearborn became alarmed over the force he imagined Prevost to have collected there. That part of the plan was therefore omitted. Four thousand men had been designated for it. But only 1700 embarked at Sackett's Harbour with Chauncey's squadron on the 25th of April to proceed against York and Fort George.

York was then a mere village in size. But it was the capital of Upper Canada; and it contained the Provincial Parliament buildings and offices. Sheaffe wrote from it on the 5th, saying he hoped to put it into a better state of defence before he left for Fort George, especially as the new ship was then building there. A fatal mistake was made when Gray's suggestion to create a naval yard at York was approved by Prevost. But, once the suggestion had been accepted, the yard ought to have been fortified. Sheaffe had not even mounted all the guns when Chauncey and Dearborn arrived. Then he made another mistake in remaining to fight when there was no chance of success; for he lost a good many men who could ill be spared.

The American squadron stood in at dawn on the 27th. The landing party was put ashore to the west of York under the command of Brigadier-General Pike. There was a skirmish but no effectual resistance at the landing place.

PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN SIR JAMES LUCAS YEO.

After a painting by A. Buck.

To face p. 56

The men-of-war moved east and bombarded the buildings and fortifications while their army advanced. Some hard fighting took place in the woods, and the 8th British regulars lost half their strength. During a further retreat a fort blew up and caused forty more British casualties. Sheaffe then marched off the remaining regulars, only 180 strong, towards Kingston, burning the new ship as he passed, destroying the yard and stores, and leaving the militia to make terms for themselves. As he marched off the Americans advanced and took possession of a battery which blew up, killing and wounding more than 200 of them, including General Pike. They thought a mine had been sprung on them by the retreating British, though the explosion appears to have been accidental. This may account for their later behaviour, when they took the town and burnt the Parliament buildings, carried off the church plate and books from the library, and looted several private houses. It should be said, to Chauncey's credit, that he subsequently sent back as much of the plate and as many of the books as he could recover.

The Americans lost about 300 men, mostly by the explosion. The British loss was not so great in actual numbers, but relatively more, as they could the less afford it. The 300 militia were put on their parole. Fortunately the light company of the 8th was met on its way up from Kingston and counter-marched with the other 180 regulars. Sheaffe's active career ended with this incident. On the 19th of June he was superseded at York by De Rottenburg and sent to take command of the base at Montreal. To be made a base commandant after failure in the field is the usual form of indirect punishment meted out to generals who cannot quite be brought within the purview of courts martial.

2. Fort George.—After returning to Sackett's Harbour for supplies Chauncey and Dearborn arrived off Fort George

on the 27th of May all ready for attack. Vincent had succeeded Sheaffe in the Niagara command. His total was about 2400 regulars and militia. Of these 1000 were elsewhere, and only 1400, of whom 1000 were regulars, were in or near Fort George. The militia were causing great anxiety about this time. They were drawn from a very scattered population, dependent mostly on farming; and they were growing restive away from their properties. Moreover, the renewed evidence of American strength began to have its disintegrating effect on the more or less weak-kneed element. The American immigrants, of course, were still awaiting the opportunity to save their Canadian possessions under the Stars and Stripes. The American commanders naturally took advantage of this, much as the British generals did of the difference of opinion between the North and South. And Brock, who could call out the best that was in every man under his leadership, had no successor with anything like the same inspiring touch.

Vincent knew he could not hold out. Though he overestimated Dearborn's army at 10,000 it actually did number 6000, quite four times his own at Fort George. The American operations were excellently conducted, the naval part being in charge of Captain Perry, so soon to become the hero of Lake Erie. The moment it was light the transports were seen standing in and manœuvring so as not to reveal their actual landing place till the last minute. Meanwhile the men-of-war came into action against the British batteries, which were no match for them. Mississauga Point soon became untenable. It juts out into the lake as a low and level tableland completely exposed to a cross-fire from the Lake and from the mouth of the Niagara, which is quite suitable for shipping. It could not receive proper support from Fort George in its rear as the village of Newark intervened. Nevertheless a determined stand was made against the three columns into which the landing party of over 3000

Signals Concerted between His Majesty's Squadron and the Signal Stations between Kingston and the Lower End of Long Island

Signification	Day Signal	Night Signal
Enemy's Squadron are standing down Carlton Island Channel	One Gun	One Gun and Two Minutes afterwards a Rocket or Blue Light
Enemy's small Craft and Expedition are standing down Carlton Island Channel	One Gun	Two Guns and Two Minutes afterwards a Rocket or Blue Light
Enemy's Small Craft and Expedition are standing round the Upper End of Long Island	One Gun	Three Guns and Two Minutes afterwards a Rocket or Blue Light
Enemy are in great force	One Gun	One Gun and Two Minutes afterwards Two Rockets or Blue Lights
Enemy are not in great force	One Gun	One Gun and Two Minutes afterwards Two Rockets or Blue Lights
Enemy's Small Craft are stopping over Towards Gananoque	One Gun	Two Guns followed by Two Rockets
~~Enemy's Craft are~~ Enemy's Craft are standing towards Point Henry	One Gun	Two Guns followed by Rockets

Yellow. Red. Blue.

SIGNALS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S SQUADRON ON LAKE ONTARIO.

From original in the possession of H. A. Dean, Chatham, Canada.

To face p. 59

men was divided. After severe losses, and seeing the enemy threatening his retreat to Burlington, Vincent withdrew in good order, evacuating Fort George and spiking all the guns. He likewise sent orders to all the British posts above the Falls to follow him to Burlington at once by the shortest line. Before nightfall on the 29th he had over 1600 effectives there. The situation was strategically excellent. He was equidistant from Niagara and York; in touch with the West and Procter across the neck of the Niagara peninsula; he had a good tactical position to hold; and close beside him was a bay where he hoped to meet the British flotilla that was said to be coming to his aid.

3. Sackett's Harbour.—The day Vincent took his stand at Burlington Prevost made an attempt on Sackett's Harbour. He was accompanied and convoyed by Yeo, the new naval commander on the Lakes. Yeo was only thirty, but already in the twentieth year of his service in the Navy. He had fought in the West Indies and in South America, as well as in Europe, and was admirably fitted for out-of-the-way expeditions that called for a knowledge of emergency means. He reached Kingston on the 10th of May and sailed against Sackett's Harbour on the 27th. Chauncey was away with the American flotilla; so the opportunity was one not to be lost. But Prevost lost it. He took 750 regulars, whom he put under command of his adjutant-general, Baynes, a man who apparently was best fitted for doing what is known as the "dirty work" of a staff. The gossip against him was that he was the son of a hospital mate at Gibraltar, and that he got on by doing what weak commanders of higher motives, like Prevost, would not do themselves, but would allow others to do for them. In any case he is a sinister figure in the war. Not one good stroke of work stands to his credit; and he was the willing tool of Prevost in all the disastrous truces that so greatly damaged the British cause. He was

even said to have profited by them. But there is no convicting evidence of this.

Prevost was the direct superior officer of both Baynes and Yeo, for his commission made him commander-in-chief by sea as well as land, and it was not till 1814 that the Admiralty took charge of their own detachments on the Lakes. He was present, but, according to his own orders, not in actual command; a way that weak men have. The flotilla and transports were off their objective on the 28th, but were becalmed too soon. The attack was postponed till daylight on the 29th. There was some confusion in the dark, and instead of landing on the shore side of Horse Island, which was really a peninsula, the troops landed on the seaward side and had to fight their way in. They soon routed the 500 militia and began to press back the regulars, who were about equal in numbers to themselves. They set fire to the barracks, and the Americans fired their own warehouses and Chauncey's new ship. Victory seemed certain, when Prevost either ordered or approved the order for a retreat. The official report was written by Baynes and approved by a general order which he signed. But Prevost made the excuses to Bathurst; and probably made the mistakes that made the excuses advisable. The want of co-operation between fleet and army, the want of artillery, and the inadequate numbers of the attacking force were all alleged. But if the fleet could not co-operate, why was the landing made at all? And if the force was inadequate, why was it not either increased or used for some better purpose? There were no sudden surprises sprung on Prevost at Sackett's Harbour. The American general, Jacob Brown, though a good fighter, was no genius; and he had only arrived there himself the day before. The intelligence service was not so bad as not to have given Prevost warning of what he had to expect; and every motive of military policy urged him to strike hard or not at all.

CHAPTER VI

OPERATIONS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER: STONEY CREEK AND BEAVER DAMS. 1813

STONEY CREEK.—York, Fort George, and Sackett's Harbour completed the tale of American success on Lake Ontario. Good use had been made of superior forces and British mistakes. The American loss had been small, especially when compared with that of the British, who could ill afford to lose even an equal number. Only 150 men, as against 500 British, was the price of taking Fort George. Dearborn had then pursued Vincent, with the intention of driving a wedge in between him and Procter. So far, so good. But lack of local and general cohesion soon turned the tables. The plan of campaign had already been spoilt by not striking at Kingston, by not holding York, and by not co-ordinating the Lake Ontario attacks with those on Lake Erie. Moreover, all these attacks together were not co-ordinated with the combined operations against Montreal, which themselves broke down for want of cohesion between their disunited parts.

Dearborn did not follow up his success at Fort George on the 27th of May with sufficient vigour. Vincent was at Burlington two days later; and it was not till another week had passed that Chandler and Winder arrived at Stoney Creek with a force of 3000 Americans designed to push in either between Vincent and the West or Vincent and York. Meanwhile Chauncey had returned to Sackett's Harbour and had found that after the destruction wrought there he was inferior in strength to Yeo. He then decided not to risk a battle till his new ship was ready. So Dearborn was

left on the Niagara peninsula with his right exposed to the lake, where he had no fighting force afloat. The mistake of leaving Kingston untouched and Sackett's Harbour open became more apparent every day. Besides, there was no Prevost at the western end of the lake to make things easy for an old and obsolescent man like Dearborn.

The Americans took up a good position at Stoney Creek to pass the night of the 5th and 6th of June. The main road ran parallel to the lake from one to two miles off. The camp was made on the crest of a low, zigzagging bluff, which was nowhere more than twenty-five feet high, and which looked like the bank of a stream that had shrunk away from it. The top was clear, and so was the lower ground for some distance in front. The right rested on a mile-wide swamp, running down to the lake. The left ended at Burlington Heights, which ran all the way from Queenston to Burlington. Moderate precaution ought to have made the position safe. But the Americans thought more of attack than of defence; and they were probably conscious of having twice failed to destroy a beaten enemy, first at York and then at Fort George, though they had superior land forces and overwhelming sea forces at both places. This was forcibly pointed out to them by their Secretary of War later on.

Just before dark, Harvey, Vincent's deputy-adjutant-general, had reconnoitred the enemy with some light troops and formed the plan of a night surprise. Vincent approved; and the selected force paraded half an hour before midnight, "704 firelocks" strong, according to Vincent's own statement. Harvey was in command; and the men were drawn from the 8th and 49th, Brock's two old regiments. The night was unusually dark; and all went well till the men were forming up for the attack at a distance of 300 yards. Then someone fired his musket; others followed; there was some cheering; and the whole enterprise threatened to come to an untimely end. But Harvey and the officers ran

along the line and re-formed the men quickly; while Major Plenderleith of the 49th, taking a handful of his regiment with him, charged straight at the American centre and rushed the guns that were just opening fire. The confusion that followed this gallant and well-calculated charge held the Americans to their ground and prevented them from forming up in line to receive Harvey's assault, which was quickly delivered with excellent effect. The British were now well in hand. They never fired another shot, but charged up the bluff with a cheer and used nothing but the bayonet. Chandler and Winder ran forward to see what was happening and were both taken prisoners. The fight continued, hand-to-hand, for some time, swaying to and fro. But the Americans, being surprised, never managed to get into proper formation. They gave ground more and more, abandoned their guns, broke up, and fell back. They lost only 200 men as against 250 British. But though they lost only one in fifteen of their total while the British lost one in three of the men actually engaged the moral effect on the American army was that of a decisive defeat.

At dawn the Americans broke camp and retreated to Forty Mile Creek, where they spent a very disorganised day, having lost their generals, their guns, and their stores. They had no rest, either, as Yeo came up on the evening of the day after, the 7th, and bombarded them on the morning of the 8th. He took their supply boats and threatened their right at the same time as their left was threatened by Indians on the Heights; while Vincent, whom Yeo had reinforced, began to close in on their rear. They again retreated, and continued to do so till they came near the guns of Fort George. Vincent soon had 1000 new effectives: 250 of the 8th, who had been brought across the lake by Yeo, and 750 of the 104th, or New Brunswick Regiment, who had made a notable winter march on snowshoes all the way through the woods from Fredericton to Quebec.

This march was the same feat that Harvey had performed in his anxiety to get to the front. Harvey was one of the best British officers during the war; and he, as Vincent generously acknowledged, was the true hero of Stoney Creek. He afterwards distinguished himself at Chrystler's Farm and elsewhere in Canada as well as at Waterloo. He ended a noble career of public service as governor of Nova Scotia, where he died in 1852.

2. Beaver Dams.—Another excellent leader in the minor operations of war was present at Stoney Creek in the person of Lieutenant Fitzgibbon of the 49th. He was cool, quick-witted, and adventurous. His little force of fighting scouts was composed chiefly of those men who are better in battle than in barracks. Most of them were Irish and spoke Erse, like Fitzgibbon himself. He got on well with the Indians, who were under the son of the great chief Joseph Brant; and he and the Indians became so troublesome to the Americans on the Canadian side of the Niagara that a plan was made to dislodge him and break up the nest of British scouts altogether.

The British advanced posts were under Colonel Bisshopp, another excellent and enterprising young officer. Bisshopp had his base on Twenty Mile Creek, whence the main road went on to Fort George and the inland road to Beaver Dams, St. David's, and Queenston. The advanced post towards Fort George was between Twelve and Ten Mile Creeks and was under Major De Haren of the 104th. The corresponding post inland was at De Cou's house in Thorold, a mile and a half short of the Beaver Dams proper. The Americans were based on the Niagara between Queenston and Fort George, with a few small outposts pushed a little way inland. It was about seventeen miles from Fitzgibbon's post to Fort George by the road through St. David's and Queenston. Queenston was only ten miles from him, along the crest of

the Heights. His position was most advantageous for bush-fighting. There was a succession of small, wooded ravines, and a confusion of knolls and undulating ground intersected by a perfect maze of bewildering little streams. He represented the extreme right front of the British as St. David's represented the extreme left front of the Americans.

Colonel Boerstler and 600 Americans left Fort George on the 23rd of June, spent the night at Queenston, and moved on next morning against Fitzgibbon's post. But Boerstler had no sooner begun his ten-mile march through the intricate bush than his flanks were beset by 250 Indians who could not be shaken off and who presently increased to over 400. His movements had already been reported; and his plan had been revealed to Fitzgibbon both by an Indian and by a heroic woman named Laura Secord.

The Secords were staunch Loyalists and had fought against the Americans both at the time of the Revolution and during the present war, when James Secord, Laura's husband, had been wounded at Queenston. St. David's was named after her brother-in-law, Major David Secord. Laura Secord, who was thirty-seven at this time, lived to be presented to King Edward VII in 1860, when he was in Canada as Prince of Wales. It was on the night of the 22nd that she overheard some Americans discussing the plan that Boerstler was to put in operation next day. As her husband's wounds were still disabling him, and as there was no other man available, she determined to go and warn Fitzgibbon herself, starting early in the morning of the 23rd. For several miles she was in constant danger of the Americans, who had pushed their outposts forward, in anticipation of Boerstler's advance. After nineteen miles of roundabout roads, sticky with the mud made by the heavy rains, she arrived at an Indian encampment, worn out by her exertions under a torrid sun. The astonished braves sprang to their feet with a yell; and she had the greatest difficulty in persuading

a chief to take her on to Fitzgibbon. It was long after dark when she delivered her message. Fitzgibbon had the same news from the Indians before she arrived; and the result would have been the same without her. But this in no way detracts from the real merit of her devotion.

Warned overnight by Laura Secord and the Indian scouts, Fitzgibbon heard of Boerstler's actual advance at seven the next morning. The sound of firing began to approach soon after; and when he rode out with his detachment on the way to St. David's he saw the bewildered Americans fighting against the persistent Indians, who had been on their flanks for three hours already. The arrival of redcoats and the apparently increasing numbers of the Indians soon inclined Boerstler to make terms. Fitzgibbon used De Haren's name; and De Haren fortunately did come up with 200 men in time to sign the capitulation. The 2nd Lincoln Militia also came up under Colonel Clark; Bisshopp arrived later in the day; and Boerstler would have been annihilated if he had kept on fighting. He was wounded himself, his men were disheartened and confused, and he had no choice but to surrender.

Coming so soon after Stoney Creek this was a serious reverse for the Americans. But there is a still greater significance in the fact that Beaver Dams was a purely Indian battle fought in defence of a British Canada. The surrender was made to the whites whose presence clinched the victory. But all the fighting was done by the Indians. Colonel Bisshopp reported at the time that the Indians were the only force actively engaged, and Fitzgibbon afterwards wrote to Captain William Kerr, the officer in charge of the Indians during the action, "Not a shot was fired on our side by any but the Indians. They beat the American detachment into a state of terror, and the only share I claim is taking advantage of a favourable moment to offer protection from the tomahawk and scalping knife." Beaver Dams and

Châteauguay are thus instructive examples of what men who were not of British descent have done to keep Canada safe within the British Empire.

3. Black Rock.—In July the British took the offensive, though on a small scale. On the 5th a party, mostly militiamen, surprised the little American post at Fort Schlosser, just above the Falls, and carried off a few prisoners, a gun, and some stores. On the 11th a much larger party, of about 250, crossed over to Black Rock, where they stampeded the astonished garrison, took four guns, destroyed four more, burnt the barricades, the blockhouse, and a vessel, and carried off a good deal of military stores. Unfortunately this brilliant little success was dimmed by the loss of the gallant young commander, Bisshopp, who was mortally wounded. On the 24th of August a reconnaissance in force was made against Fort George, when the Americans were driven into their defences and Newark was seized but not held. After this there was a lull on the Niagara frontier until the winter, when some sharp fighting took place and both sides of the river fell into British hands even more thoroughly than they had fallen into American hands in the spring.

Two noteworthy features of these summer skirmishes were the presence of Indians and "Canadian Volunteers" in the American camp. General Boyd highly commended the activity of both in a skirmish on the 17th of August. The Indians belonged mostly to the Six Nations, who had been living in New York, on their old grounds, and who consequently found themselves obliged to take sides. The "Canadian Volunteers" were mostly Americans living in Canada who wanted to secure their Canadian property under the American flag. They were quite right, from their own point of view, in taking up arms, when they had not become naturalised in Canada. But those who had become naturalised were wrong; and two or three who had taken

the oath of allegiance as members of the Upper Canada parliament were a great deal worse.

4. Yeo's Flotilla.—During this campaign Yeo and Chauncey began to build against each other to ensure the command of Lake Ontario; and they were still building when the war came to an end. As neither side effectively attacked the base of the other, and as every advantage on one side was soon matched by a corresponding advantage on the other, neither commodore achieved any decisive results. Yeo had some dull sailers, the *Moira* particularly; and he was stronger in short-range carronades than in long-range cannon. The consequence was that he desired close action, which Chauncey as sedulously avoided. Chauncey also avoided too much open manœuvring, as his flotilla was by no means homogeneous. There were partial actions on the 10th of August and the 11th and 28th of September. But neither side ever gained the complete command of the lake; and neither was ever able to turn the ascendancy it did gain to the best advantage.

5. Lake Champlain.—The minor operations on the frontier were all in favour of the British. On the 3rd of June two American gunboats came in to attack Isle-aux-Noix, where they were both taken by Major Taylor of the 100th. They were called the *Growler* and the *Eagle* by the Americans but rechristened the *Broke* and the *Shannon* by the British, in honour of the famous duel which made the "glorious First of June" doubly celebrated in the annals of the Navy. Within a few months, however, the Admiralty found the proper class-names for them and put them in commission under the humdrum titles of the *Chub* and the *Finch*.

On the 29th of July there was a most successful raid along Lake Champlain, made by Colonel Murray with about

900 men. Captain Everard came up from his ship at Quebec as a volunteer. Captain Pring was sent down by Yeo. Convoyed by the two captured vessels and three others the little flotilla of transports made for Plattsburg. On their approach the American militia promptly disbanded and dispersed; and the barracks, yard, and stores at Plattsburg were all destroyed. The raid was then carried up to Saranac and back to Swanton and Champlain. Everard crossed over to Burlington, which was Hampton's base for the army that was about to invade the Montreal frontier. Macdonough, the future hero of Plattsburg Bay, was there; but not yet ready for action. Some small vessels were carried off; and the whole force returned to its quarters on the 3rd of August.

CHAPTER VII

OPERATIONS IN THE LAKE ERIE REGION: BATTLES OF LAKE ERIE AND THE THAMES. 1813

THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE.—The same sort of competition as that for the command of Lake Ontario was repeated, on a smaller scale, but with greater intensity of action, for the command of Lake Erie, especially at Presque Isle and Amherstburg. All the advantages of resources were with the Americans; and they had a first-rate naval officer in Captain Perry. But they had their own difficulties. The harbour guard of Pennsylvanian militia was of no service at all. "I tell the boys to go, but the boys won't go," said the worthless colonel of a worthless corps which refused to do its tour of duty. Then, there was the enormous difficulty of getting the squadron over the bar in possible presence of the enemy as the vessels had to be lightened of all their armaments and stores.

But the British difficulties were as much greater as the means of surmounting them were less. Captain Barclay was a capable and energetic officer, who had already seen much service and who had lost an arm in action. He was thirty-two, four years older than Perry. From the moment of his arrival everything worked against him. He had less than fifty trained seamen. The rest of his crews had to be picked up in the best way he could get them. He had one fairly good vessel, the *Detroit*. But she had neither crew nor armament. "The ships are manned with a crew part of whom cannot even speak English, none of them seamen, and very few even in numbers." This he reported to Prevost.

But Prevost was not to blame for the want of means. He had written home urgently, time and again, to ask for seamen, shipwrights, and whatever else was required to win the command of the Lakes. But the Great War was still at its height in 1812; and seamen were scarce even in 1813. Besides, Lake Erie was at the far end of a very long line of communication, which could only be worked at great expense and considerable risk.

Immediately on taking command Barclay had proposed a joint attack on Presque Isle, "to destroy the nest." But Procter had no men or means to spare, and Prevost no reinforcements to send. Barclay did his best to blockade Perry, and for a time succeeded. But at the end of August he put back to Amherstburg for supplies, and Perry got out in his absence. The situation now was most critical. Thousands of Indians were clamouring to be fed. Stores were at a low ebb. No help seemed to be forthcoming. Prevost had been urging on Procter that Barclay had "only to dare" and he would succeed. It was quite clear that the choice lay between starvation and a battle once Perry could interrupt the water-borne transport from the east. "So perfectly destitute of provisions was the port," wrote Barclay, "that there was not a day's flour in store." Accordingly he and Procter decided on risking a battle at once, as they had no means of telling when the seamen said to be coming overland would arrive and equally no means of telling whether the guns for the *Detroit* would arrive at all. Cannon of all the odd types that had accumulated at the little port of Amherstburg were requisitioned and put hurriedly on board. The ammunition was scarce and bad, while the tubes and matches were so defective that the guns had to be fired in action by the flash of a pistol.

Nevertheless Barclay sailed out on the 9th of September with his ill-assorted flotilla of six little vessels, his haphazard armament, and his untrained crews. Next morning he

sighted Perry's flotilla of nine vessels near Put-in Bay. The general balance of odds was fairly indicated by the difference in number of vessels, misleading as this method of estimating usually is. But there was a fighting chance of success. Perry's crews had been made up to complement by drafts from Harrison's army; and his vessels were almost as makeshift, in some ways, as Barclay's. Yet in armament, numbers, trained seamen, and general equipment, his all-round superiority of three against two was incontestable.

Perry and Barclay led their respective flotillas into action in the flagships *Lawrence* and *Detroit*, which proceeded to pound each other for two hours at close quarters. By the end of this time the *Lawrence*, being a mere wreck, hauled down her colours. But before she did so Perry had left her for the *Niagara*, which hitherto had only been engaged at long range and which was consequently fresh. In this new flagship he bore down on the *Detroit*, which meanwhile had become unmanageable, having fallen foul of the *Queen Charlotte*. The *Queen Charlotte* was also in a very bad way, as her captain, Barclay's right-hand man, had been killed at the beginning of the battle. The *Niagara* soon proved irresistible. The whole British flotilla surrendered after a desperate struggle, having lost so many officers and men that it could not have held out any longer, even if its *matériel* had not also suffered an equal or greater loss. Elliott of the *Niagara* apparently held back in order to gain the credit of being the real winner of the victory. But, except for this rather doubtful and hotly controverted point, Perry and his whole fleet deserve the highest credit for their heroic work, both before and during the action. Nor could anything have been more chivalrous than Perry's subsequent behaviour to his wounded and defeated opponent.

From this day on, up to the end of the war, Lake Erie became an American possession. But the importance of the victory did not stop there. For, taken in conjunction with

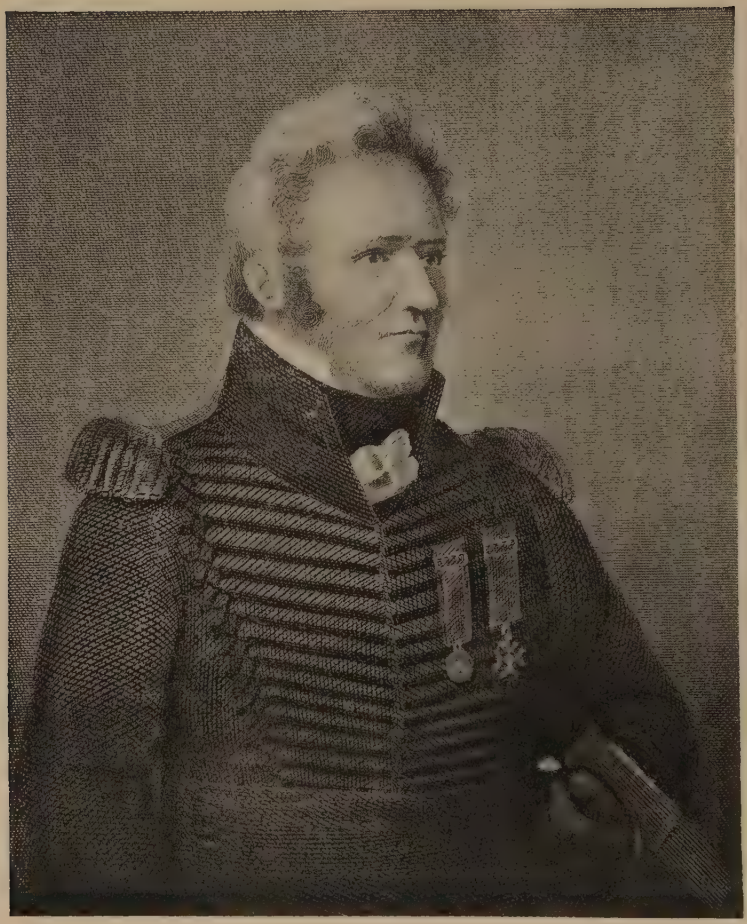
Plattsburg, it ultimately determined the American refusal to change any of the western frontiers or Indian reserves. Its significance in this sense was pointed out by Wellington and reluctantly admitted by the British ministers.

2. The Battle of the Thames.—Procter's position at Amherstburg had been precarious before. It became intolerable now. His supplies were giving out. They could not be made good by land transport, even if they had been forthcoming; and the waterway was closed. He had nothing to do but retreat, and retreat as fast as he could. But he lingered, temporised, and was lost. Ten days after the battle he was still at Amherstburg. He had only 600 effectives left besides Tecumseh's Indians, who were steadily diminishing. Harrison started in pursuit, the mounted men going round by land to Detroit, where they arrived on the 30th. Meanwhile the American infantry had disembarked at Amherstburg on the 27th. Procter had left Sandwich only one day before. His boats, baggage, women, and children, all delayed him in his retreat up the Thames. On the 2nd of October Harrison followed him with 3500 men. The British movements were not only slow but undecided. Procter could not make up his mind whether to abandon everything possible and increase his pace or stand and fight at the first defensible position.

On the 4th Harrison closed up and took two guns and the rearguard of 150 men. On the fatal 5th Procter stood at bay with 1000 dispirited and worn-out men against Harrison's exultant 3000. His position was good. There was a swamp on his right and the Thames on his left. The Indians took post to the right front, where the cover was excellent and the ground bad for whites. The little force of 400 redcoats stood in the open, all except a few men who had gone to Moraviantown to protect the crossing there. Harrison threw back his left to face the Indians, brought up his

main body, and then ordered all his mounted men to charge. This charge was badly executed and failed before the first two volleys. But the cavalry were quickly rallied and then launched in another charge that really did get home. The British line wavered, broke, and was ridden down. The American infantry came up, and the battle was won and lost. Procter and the few mounted men with him escaped at a gallop. Tecumseh kept up the fight, even now that it seemed hopeless, with odds of six to one against him. At last he fell and his warriors fled to the bush. He was the very incarnation of the Red Man at his best. The whites had never seen his like before and never did again.

3. Minor Events.—Ill-luck pursued the British elsewhere. The two flank companies of the Watteville regiment were captured on their passage from York to Kingston in October. But Colonel Bostwick and a party of militiamen killed, captured, or dispersed every man in a gang of marauders at Woodhouse, sending the prisoners across the Grand River to Burlington. This little action, on the 13th of November, put new heart into the inhabitants of the invaded Ontario peninsula, though of course it had no effect on the campaign. Unfortunately, it was followed by a much bigger fight on the 4th of March, 1814, in the same area of operation, at Longwood, near Delaware. Here Captain Basden of the 89th was surrounded and his men were shot down. Captain Stewart of the Royal Scots called this "our unfortunate and truly lamentable expedition," and expressly disclaimed the action of his junior officer in proceeding without his own "advice, knowledge, or consent." Stewart was absent at the time and was very much disconcerted to find out what had happened.



PORTRAIT OF LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES DE SALABERRY.

From an engraving by A. B. Durand after a painting by A. Dickinson.

To face p. 75

CHAPTER VIII

OPERATIONS ON THE MONTREAL FRONTIER: CHÂTEAUGUAY AND CHRYSTLER'S FARM. 1813

CHÂTEAUGUAY.—After the successful British raid on Lake Champlain at the beginning of August the American general, Hampton, completed his preparations and crossed over to Plattsburg. On the 20th of September he crossed the frontier at Odelltown with over 7000 men on his way to join Wilkinson, who, with about the same number, was to meet him on the St. Lawrence, take command of the whole 14,000, and attack Montreal. The point of junction was to be either St. Regis or Châteauguay, that is, the Canadian settlement of Châteauguay, at the mouth of the Châteauguay River, and not La Fourche de la Rivière Châteauguay, where the battle of the Châteauguay was fought. Hampton's heart was not in the campaign. He resented Wilkinson's leadership. He was not enthusiastic about Wilkinson's plan. And he had already reported his intention of resigning as soon as the operations were over. Still, he was punctuality itself compared with Wilkinson, who was far too late in leaving Sackett's Harbour. The want of combination grew worse as time wore on, and when Wilkinson did badly Hampton did worse.

From Odelltown Hampton marched to the Châteauguay, whence he would have a line of advance along its northern bank to its mouth at Châteauguay near Montreal. But he made a false start in another direction first, which gave De Salaberry ample time to intercept him. De Salaberry was the same commanding officer of the Voltigeurs who had been

patrolling the frontier with his French-Canadian regulars for more than a year. Hampton finally retired to concentrate at the Four Corners of Châteauguay, a place just inside the United States and not to be confused with La Fourche de la Rivière Châteauguay, where the battle was fought, or with Châteauguay the Canadian settlement on the St. Lawrence. This concentration gave Hampton the advantage of puzzling the British, who could not tell whether he would go westward to meet Wilkinson at St. Regis or northward, along the left bank of the Châteauguay, to meet him at the Canadian village of Châteauguay, which was only fifteen miles from Montreal. In the meantime the Americans on Lake Champlain raided Mississquoi on the 12th of October and took 100 prisoners.

Hampton at last declared his intentions by moving down the left bank of the Châteauguay on the 21st after opening communications with Wilkinson, who was still at Sackett's Harbour. By the 25th his own thousands had come into close touch with De Salaberry's hundreds. He naturally expected to drive in all the little British outposts on his way to the St. Lawrence. De Salaberry, however, had determined to dispute his advance by taking up a strong position near La Fourche, where several tributary creeks of the Châteauguay, greatly strengthened by *abattis*, could be held against superior numbers.

Meanwhile the news of Hampton's advance had reached Prevost at Kingston on the 20th. As Kingston was then being threatened by an equally strong force under Wilkinson not one Imperial regular could safely be spared. So Prevost sent for Colonel "Red George" Macdonell, late of the Glengarries, and now commanding a "Light Battalion" formed in the previous April by bringing together both flank companies of the 2nd and 5th Select Embodied Militia of Lower Canada and the right flank company of the 3rd. Nine-tenths of all ranks were French-Canadians and the

picked men of picked battalions. They had been hurried to Upper Canada when the danger of invasion seemed greatest there. Now they were even more urgently needed among their own people. "When can you start?" Prevost is reported to have asked Macdonell. "When the men have finished their dinner, Sir." Prevost then left, in all haste, for Châteauguay, telling Macdonell to follow at once. The battalion was ready when Macdonell said it could be. But a day was lost in collecting enough boats to take it down the St. Lawrence. The difficulties were unusually great, especially at the rapids where Amherst had lost so many men in 1760. These dangerous rapids safely passed the men had to row all day against a gale on Lake St. Francis. This gale finally rose to such a height that Macdonell was forced to lose yet another day at the Cedars. He then crossed over to the south shore, marched for miles along it, struck inland late in the afternoon, marched all night by a bad trail through the dense forest, and arrived at the scene of action on the Châteauguay an hour before dawn. He had covered 170 miles by water and 40 by land since Prevost had left him, four days and a half before. Yet he had reached the rendezvous first and was able to greet Prevost's arrival with the satisfactory report: "All here, Sir: not one man absent."

Macdonell's march was a consummate move, admirably executed at a critical moment. But the situation was still extremely dangerous. Hampton was advancing with 7500 men, including both cavalry and artillery. Prevost had nothing like half these numbers between the invaders and Montreal; and De Watteville could not collect anything like half of Prevost's total in the immediate neighbourhood. The 25th was passed in collecting all the available men in the strong position that De Salaberry had chosen beside the Châteauguay in advance of the blockhouse. On the holding of this position all depended, because once the Americans passed that point in overwhelming numbers there was no

strong natural feature at which a stand could be made against them before they reached their point of junction with another army equal to their own. De Watteville, who was the general commanding on the Montreal frontier, inspected De Salaberry's dispositions and cordially approved of them.

By the morning of the 26th there were 1500 British within easy striking distance. The actual front, at and beside which the only fighting took place, was held by De Salaberry, who was also the senior officer present throughout the engagement. He resolved to stand his ground just in rear of where the Châteauguay made a right-angled bend towards his left front. If the enemy came straight on, along the same north bank, the two hostile forces would meet on such a narrow front that the smaller would have every chance of holding its own till reinforced. Hampton was not likely to deploy on a wide enough front to effect a crushing envelopment on both flanks as that would imply a kind and degree of co-ordination in which his army had had no previous training. If, as really happened, the enemy sent a separate column across the right-angled bend and marched it down alongside the south bank, this column would have to expose its left in the open to De Salaberry under cover before it could reach the ford in his rear. And when it did reach this ford it would be met by Macdonell. The battlefield was of the usual type: comparatively flat and sharply featured by a well-watered clearing flanked by dense woods. But as the clearing was much too narrow for the deployment of large numbers, and as the river ran down the centre of it, it offered unusual advantages to a well-handled defence and unusual obstacles to a badly handled attack. The little tributary creeks, each flowing into the Châteauguay from the north through a shallow ravine, were all defended by *abattis*. De Salaberry could thus fall back from one defensive position to another, along the north bank, so long as he could protect his left flank at the fords, which were also covered by *abattis*.

Hampton sent on his flanking column overnight. It was

composed of McCarty's light brigade of 1500 men and was commanded by Colonel Purdy. Its duty was to cross the Châteauguay out of reach of De Salaberry, occupy the south bank, and take the ford in De Salaberry's immediate rear early next morning. No one on the American side knew that Macdonell had arrived or that there were other British troops in the neighbourhood. Purdy's 1500 lost their way and had only made six miles by daylight. They then pushed on, along the south bank, skirmishing with 90 French-Canadian Select Embodied Militia under Captains Daly and Brugière, both of whom were disabled by wounds. Captain de Tonnancour then came forward from the ford with his fresh company of 70 men of Select Embodied Militia and held the enemy in check. The 1500 Americans under Purdy and McCarty had now lost touch with the remaining 6000 under Hampton and Izard. This main body of 6000 had begun feeling its way into position earlier in the day. It had driven in De Salaberry's most advanced parties, which had retired to the first *abattis*. It had then waited for Purdy's column to attack the ford, to which Macdonell had moved up, and across which he had sent Tonnancour's company. Purdy's 1500 were equal to the whole British strength present in all parts of the scene of action. There were only 300 of all ranks with De Salaberry himself at the first *abattis* facing Hampton; and the three companies of Daly, Brugière, and Tonnancour, facing Purdy on the south bank, only mustered 160 between them. Thus the British firing line only included 460 men altogether. The remaining five companies of Voltigeurs and the eight companies of the 2nd Battalion Select Embodied Militia of Lower Canada were waiting alongside the Châteauguay, ready either to support De Salaberry in front or hold back Purdy at the fords by wheeling to their left. They numbered 780; and Macdonell was the senior officer nearest to them. Further off, to their right and De Salaberry's right rear, stood 200 of the Sedentary Militia of Boucher-

ville, which had been embodied a month before, under Léry, and 150 Indians, who, by some mistake, had not been thrown forward on De Salaberry's right front to envelop Hampton's left from the woods. This was the total. But Purdy did not know it; and he and his men were taken aback to find Macdonell's redcoats at the first ford and an unknown number of other British troops at other *abattis* in rear.

Purdy paused, waiting for support from Hampton. Hampton paused, waiting for Purdy to take the ford. Both had expected to crush De Salaberry between them. Neither had taken the trouble to preserve proper connection by means of their cavalry or otherwise. Neither had been able to bring any guns into action. Hampton moved forward a second time when he heard Purdy's column firing. But his deployment was on such a narrow front that he could bring little more fire to bear on De Salaberry from open ground than De Salaberry could bring to bear from under first-rate cover. He so evidently had no intention of trying to rush De Salaberry with the bayonet, and his fire was so completely ineffective, that De Salaberry wheeled most of his men to his left and took him in flank. This brought matters to a crisis. The unexpected resistance of Daly and Brugière on the south bank, the determined way in which Tonnancour supported them, the appearance of the rest of Macdonell's redcoats behind the ford, and the surprise of being attacked in flank by De Salaberry himself, all came with a cumulative effect that broke up Purdy's 1500 in dire dismay. Some of them ran into the woods on their unexposed right and then, imagining themselves attacked by Indians, fired into each other. But more ran back towards their rear and offered an excellent target to the French-Canadians as they did so. Presently these fugitives came in full view of Hampton, who promptly stopped his own half-hearted attack. His cavalry had failed to keep touch. His ten guns could not be brought to the front. He had no mind to use the bayonet. His army had become all parts and no whole. Moreover the British

seemed to be in great, if not superior, force. Their bugles were sounding the advance from several directions. Their men were cheering with the assurance of certain victory. The dreaded Indians were also working round the helpless massed left flank of his own main body. He retired with his beaten thousands; while the victorious British hundreds stood fast on the ground they had been holding.

Prevost and De Watteville rode up to the sound of the firing in the afternoon. But the issue had been already decided by De Salaberry and Macdonell. There was no pursuit, except on a very small scale by a few Indians. The British casualties were insignificant, only about five per cent. of the 460 men actually engaged. The American casualties were much heavier in the action and were largely increased by the troops who fired into each other during it, and again afterwards, when one detachment mistook another for a British night attack.

The battle of Châteauguay was a British French-Canadian victory; and for this reason, no less than for the remarkable disparity of numbers between the opposing forces, it is a feat of arms that will be long remembered. Though, in one sense, a mere affair of outposts it had the determining effect of a great victory. It raised the *morale* of the French-Canadian troops. It depressed the *morale* of the Americans. Its tactical result was a smart check administered by a firing line of a few hundred British to as many thousand engaged Americans. Its strategical result was a decisive check administered by 1500 British to five times their number of Americans, who were thereby prevented from effecting a junction of forces which must have imperilled, and might have taken, the whole city, island, and district of Montreal.

The extraordinary significance thus given to so small an action naturally led to inquiries into every detail, and as these details are open to misunderstanding, they, just as naturally, have led to great confusion ever since. Under these circumstances it may be advisable to depart from the

general rule of this *Introduction* so far as to mention and explain some of the factors which have brought about such confusion, with all its attendant train of controversy.

To begin with, " the Battle of Châteauguay " is itself confusing because there was no place called Châteauguay near the battlefield, while there were then, as there are now, two places called Châteauguay elsewhere, one at the mouth of the Châteauguay, near Montreal, and the other across the frontier of the United States. " The Battle of the Châteauguay " would have been an apter title. Then, the names of La Fourche and Châteauguay, and the mention of *habitants*, have misled many people into thinking that the battle was fought on ground settled by French-Canadians. It was not. The nearest settlers were English-speaking, and chiefly of Scottish descent. James Wright, brother to the chief of Clan McIntyre, was the captain of the local sedentary militia, and his lieutenant was a farmer and innkeeper called Morrison, whose son's boyish memories of the battle are given among the documents. " Johnson's " was the most conspicuous establishment near the blockhouse. Spear's was the next place up the river. Other place-names on the way to the frontier were Smith's Road, Piper's Road, Elliott's, Truesdale's, Shaw's, Barlow's, Dunn's, and Hartley's ; and the next river, on the way to Montreal, was called, distinctively, the English River.

On the other hand, Wright, Morrison, and their men were not in the action as a military unit. They were mostly employed in quartering the generals and staffs and in helping the commissariat and transport. The Fencibles, 72 men under Captain Ferguson, contained some non-French-Canadians, as did, indeed, practically all the other corps present on the field. But an examination of such rolls as are now in the " S " series in the Dominion Archives shows conclusively that nine-tenths of the Voltigeurs and Militia were French-Canadians. The Voltigeur rolls are not complete ; but those that have been found fully bear this out. Longuetin's company of the 2nd Beauharnois and Brugière's

Chasseurs were also French-Canadian. So were the eight companies of the 2nd Select Embodied Militia of Lower Canada under Malhiot: every man's name appears on the pay-rolls of the time. So must have been the five companies of the 1st Sedentary Militia of Boucherville, a French-Canadian neighbourhood. So were Daly's and Tonnancour's companies of the Select Embodied Militia. There were five battalions of the Select Embodied Militia, or Milice d'Élite Incorporée, in Lower Canada. Their officers' names can be seen in Mr. Homfray Irving's excellent book, published in 1908 under the auspices of the Canadian Military Institute, *Officers of the British Forces in Canada during the War of* 1812–15. Out of these five battalions two light battalions were specially formed under G.O. of April 12, 1813, by taking their ten flank companies. From that date till the 25th of the following November these two light battalions were incorporated with the light infantry of the Imperial regulars and served as regulars themselves. It was the first battalion that Macdonell commanded.

On the whole, it is probably safe to say that ninety per cent. of the total present were French-Canadians. The remainder were men who by residence or enlistment either were drafted or had volunteered into French-Canadian corps.

A special word is due to the Indians, particularly the Okas and Caughnawagas, who did effective work in scouting and harassing the enemy in the bush. There seems to be no satisfactory reason why all his Indians never came into action in the way De Salaberry wished. The 22 with Ferguson did remarkably well. The 150 with Léry only yelled. But war-whoops counted for a good deal when the enemy began to get nervous.

The exact numbers present are very hard to ascertain. Perhaps they never will be ascertained. No general official return of men actually engaged and men present in other parts of the field seems to have ever been made up. Even the "300" under De Salaberry at the first *abattis* are not

precisely accounted for either by him or O'Sullivan. There is some doubt about Longuetin's company of the 2nd Beauharnois. As this was an ordinary militia company, and not a "select" one, there would almost certainly be a good deal of discrepancy between the number of effective combatants in action and the total on the pay-roll, which would include buglers, sick, "otherwise employed," detached, &c. O'Sullivan mentions "50 or 60" as being in action out of Longuetin's pay-roll total of 89 on the 24th. By deducting 25 per cent. a total of 66 in action would be arrived at. This, added to the 140 Voltigeurs, 72 Fencibles, and 22 Indians mentioned by De Salaberry, would exactly make up the 300 which reminded French-Canadian patriots of Thermopylæ. Daly is specifically reported to have taken 50 into action. Brugière had 40, almost his total strength at that time. Tonnancour had 81 on his roll and about 70 in action. This gives 160 in action on the south bank and brings the total firing line up to 460.

The whole question of numbers engaged here is typical of the difficulties created by the absence of exact specific returns on many occasions during the war. Ardent British patriots have naturally been inclined to minimise the numbers on the British side and maximise those on the American. Even careful students of history, if unacquainted with military matters, are apt to exaggerate numbers all round, as they do not allow for the many men necessarily absent from the field of battle, and they fail to realise that a fixed establishment list is never reached, and never can be reached, because there is no excess to compensate for the continual wastage. At Châteauguay the Americans probably appeared with almost the same numbers as those with which they crossed the line. The distance was short. Sickness only became rife later on. And the necessary deductions from their grand total had already been made by leaving ineffectives behind at the base. Many of Hampton's men never came into action. But more than two-thirds of the British force never

fired a shot. The numbers of these men on the British side, who, though present, were not in action, are even less precisely known than the numbers of those who were in action. The five companies of Voltigeurs, being regulars and directly under De Salaberry, would probably have had nearly 90 per cent. present. The eight companies of the 2nd battalion of Select Embodied Militia of Lower Canada would probably have had 80 per cent. present as effective combatants. The rolls of the Boucherville Sedentary Embodied Militia cannot be found. But, considering their comparatively low establishment and the high percentage of absentees from sedentary corps, it is not likely that their five companies averaged more combatant effectives than did Brugière's Chasseurs d'Élite de Châteauguay—40. The numbers of the Indians were specifically reported—150 present on the field elsewhere and 22 in the actual firing line.

The following tentative parade state has been made out after due consideration of all the available *data:*

In the Firing Line.	On the North Bank of the Châteauguay.	De Salaberry, commanding in person, and senior officer present on the field	1	301
		Captain Lamothe's Indians	22	
		Captain Ferguson's Fencibles	72	
		Captains J. and J. B. Duchesnay's Voltigeurs	140	
		Captain Longuetin's Company, 2nd Battn. Beauharnois Militia	66	
	On the South Bank of the Châteauguay.	Captain Daly's Left Flank Company of the 3rd Select Embodied Militia of Lower Canada, then serving in Macdonell's 1st Light Battalion	50	160
		Captain G. G. de Tonnancour's Left Flank Company of 1st S.E.M. of L.C., then serving in the 2nd Light Battalion	70	
		Captain Brugière's Chasseurs de Châteauguay, then serving under De Salaberry	40	
				461

Present on the Field but not in the Firing Line.	In rear of De Salaberry, alongside the north bank of the Châteauguay.	Lt.-Col. George Macdonell, senior officer present here	1	
		5 companies Voltigeurs under Captains Bartzch, Lescuyer, Levêque, and de Rouville	300	781
		8 companies of the 2nd Battalion of S.E.M. of L.C. under Lt.-Col. Malhiot, Majors de la Bruère and de Beaujeu, and Captain McKay	480	1131
	To the right rear of De Salaberry and in the woods inland.	Lt.-Col. de Léry and Major Raymond with 5 companies of the 1st Battn., Boucherville Division of specially embodied Sedentary Militia. (Embodied by G.O., 27 Sept., 1813.)	200	350
		Indians	150	

RECAPITULATION.

Total in Firing Line	461
Total present elsewhere	1131
Total present on Field	1592

An even more important point, on which great confusion also prevails, is the question of regulars and militia. It cannot be repeated too often that the war was not fought on the British side by what is usually called "Militia"; that is, it was not fought by men who had only a few days' training during the year under their own militia officers. The point is particularly well worth some elaboration because Châteauguay is always cited as a great militia victory. It was nothing of the kind. To begin with the least trained men of all. The 200 men of Boucherville sedentary militia under Léry had been embodied for twenty-three days in November 1812, and when they appeared at Châteauguay they had already been embodied for a month in 1813. They might have stood as firmly as the rest if they had been given the chance. But, like the 150 Indians, they were posted where shouting alone was required. The only militiamen of this kind who came into

action were the 66 from the 2nd Beauharnois, who did very well under Captain Longuetin, fighting beside the regulars. The next class was composed of the eight companies of the 2nd Select Embodied Militia of Lower Canada under Malhiot. Their battalion was embodied at Quebec on the 8th of May 1812 and served continuously till March 1815. Like the other battalions of S.E.M. it could send half its strength back to the Sedentaries each year and take an equal number in if circumstances permitted. But, as a corps, it was permanently embodied for three consecutive years; and more than half of it was always composed of men who had served twelve months or who had been recalled from its trained reserve. In April 1813, as previously mentioned, the picked flank companies of these picked and trained battalions were formed into two special light battalions and drafted into the service with the light infantry of the Imperial Army. Daly's and Tonnancour's men were from this crack corps. Brugière's Chasseurs d'Élite de Châteauguay were serving with and under De Salaberry in his frontier work like his own Voltigeurs, who were regulars, raised in 1812 and not disbanded till 1815. The Fencibles were Canadian regulars of ten years' standing at the time of Châteauguay. Thus, while half De Salaberry's firing line was composed of regulars most of the other half was made up of militia permanently embodied, serving with the Imperial regulars, and carefully chosen out of battalions which were themselves composed of "Select" and "Embodied" militia. All the men immediately in rear of the firing line were of the Select Embodied Militia. Even the Sedentaries in the woods had been twice embodied before they appeared on the outer edge of the field of battle. Needless to add, the officers were better trained, as a rule, than their men. As for De Salaberry, he, like his three brothers, was an officer of the Imperial regulars. He was commanding a Canadian corps. But it was a corps of regulars, and he had already

spent half his life in the Imperial Army before he undertook to raise it.

The controversy that followed the promulgation of the general orders referring to the action was the only unpleasant feature from the British point of view. De Salaberry and his friends felt aggrieved that he and his own immediate command were not treated as a separate entity to which the sole credit was made due. But De Watteville was the general officer under whom De Salaberry was then acting; and anyone who knows the ways of armies knows perfectly well that to omit De Watteville would have been to censure him; while to censure him would have been unjust, because he did his duty well. He was not a brilliant man. But the occasion did not call for brilliancy so far as he was concerned. On the whole, De Salaberry was given nearly all the recognition and reward that were properly his. He became, and always remained, the "Hero of Châteauguay" in popular estimation. He was formally thanked by the Parliament of Lower Canada. And if he did have to wait unduly long for his decoration he could hardly claim that he was officially slighted in other respects, especially when the series of complimentary references culminated in a special letter from the Commander-in-chief of the Imperial Army to the Governor-General which De Salaberry was directed to read out on parade to the men who had fought at Châteauguay.

2. Chrystler's Farm.—Wilkinson started down the St. Lawrence only on the 5th of November. He issued a proclamation which is notable for being much less bombastic than others of its kind. It produced, however, no effect on the Canadians; and so he had to report "the active universal hostility of the male inhabitants of the country." On the 9th the expedition reached the head of the Long Sault rapids near Williamsburg and the farm since celebrated as the scene of the battle two days later. Brown, the

successful defender of Sackett's Harbour against Prevost, had been landed with 2000 men to clear the Canadian shore down to Cornwall, which stood at the foot of the rapids, twenty miles off and opposite St. Regis, where Wilkinson expected to find Hampton waiting. Dennis of the 49th, the first defender of Queenston, had charge of the little militia garrison of Cornwall. He did all he could to hold the Americans back, by frequently opening fire, compelling them to deploy, breaking the bridges, and annoying them generally. It was not till the 11th that Brown reached the foot of the rapids just above Cornwall.

Meanwhile another 2000 Americans had been landed under Boyd with orders to follow Brown. On the 10th the little British force that had followed Wilkinson down began to get into touch with Boyd's rearguard. Boyd had nothing to fear if Wilkinson's overwhelming numbers were only brought to bear. But they were not. And so the single thousand British greatly disconcerted the seven thousand Americans. This thousand was probably the most composite force of its kind ever seen in any one action during the whole war. There were about 800 ashore and 200 afloat; and among them all were men of the Royal Navy and the Provincial Marine, French-Canadian Voyageurs, English-speaking boatmen belonging to the great trading companies, Imperial regulars of the 49th and 89th, Canadian regulars of the Fencibles and Voltigeurs, Anglo-Canadian and French-Canadian militiamen, and a party of Indians. Every human element of Canadian defence was represented—a fact which makes the battle of Chrystler's Farm quite as interesting, in a contrasting way, as that either of Châteauguay or Beaver Dams.

The British commander afloat was Captain Mulcaster, an excellent seaman, who had recently won the admiration of his opponents on Lake Ontario by the consummate skill with which his rearguard ship held off Chauncey's van by

yawing, without a moment's loss of control, just enough to fire alternate stinging broadsides, with guns trained aft to the utmost limit of their effective arc of fire. Colonel Morrison was a good regimental officer who took his men through several actions with credit to all concerned; and on this occasion he had the great advantage of having, as his chief staff officer, Harvey, the daring leader at Stoney Creek.

Early on the 11th Wilkinson heard of Brown's arrival at the foot of the rapids and immediately ordered the flotilla of boats to go down. But as the boats put out from shore Mulcaster opened fire with his small craft and Morrison pressed in on Boyd ashore. Wilkinson accordingly ordered Boyd to turn about and attack in force. A most unusual type of action then began, for an advancing army was obliged to fight a rearguard action. The odds were 1800 to 800, in favour of the Americans: as the 200 British afloat took no part in the actual battle ashore, even at long range. Another 600 Americans came up at the end, but did no service to their side. The American guns were also late in beginning their work.

The battlefield was like so many others in this war—woods on one side, a waterway on the other, and a comparatively flat clearing in the middle. The clearing of Chrystler's Farm was about 700 yards wide. The bush was less dense than usual, being mostly pine. The ground was very slightly undulating, with three under-features: two rivulets with little gullies and a low swell of rocky ground on the inland side near the bush. Next to the river were three companies of the 89th with one gun. Across the main road were the flank companies of the 49th, some Canadians and another gun, the whole thrown a little forward. The third gun and the rest of the regulars were thrown back on the left, half-facing the bush, which was occupied by the Voltigeurs and Indians. Mulcaster's gunboats guarded the

river. Thus the five parts of this little fighting line of 1000 men, half a mile long, were all well in hand for giving each other mutual confidence and support.

About two o'clock Boyd advanced his right, drove in Morrison's advanced parties on the left, and followed this up by an attack in force there. After a sharp fight he was repulsed. He then concentrated on his left and tried to cut the British off from the river. The 49th charged for a gun, but were halted to face a threatening move of the American dragoons against their right flank. The 89th thereupon came up, along the river's edge, beat off the dragoons, and took the gun. Boyd then withdrew his infantry to their boats, while his cavalry and artillery gradually retreated by land to the foot of the rapids, where Wilkinson's whole army was assembled next morning, the 12th of November. The British loss was 200, the American 400, of whom 100 were prisoners. Morrison's 600 effectives slept on the ground they had won and resumed the pursuit in the morning.

The news Wilkinson received from Hampton that day was worse than the news of Boyd's defeat the day before. On the 7th Hampton had received a dispatch from Wilkinson suggesting a junction at St. Regis. But on the 8th he replied, saying that his men were sickly and dispirited, that they were beginning to desert, that he was running short of supplies, and that he certainly had none to spare for Wilkinson, who had asked for enough to last a couple of months. On the day of the battle Hampton started back for Lake Champlain; and when Wilkinson got his letter of the 8th on the 12th it was much too late for any further efforts at co-operation. Wilkinson then crossed over to St. Regis and went into winter quarters at French Mills on the Salmon River.

Chrystler's Farm was a gallant and well-executed victory. But it had comparatively little effect on the strategical situation. If the two American armies had united at St. Regis,

with quite 12,000 effectives, they could only have been stopped by the main force from Montreal under Prevost. Whether Prevost would have fought well or not, with his back to the wall, must remain a matter of speculation.

The campaign on this frontier was closed by a well-planned and daringly executed little raid on Derby in Vermont under the command of Captain Barker of the Frontier Light Infantry, who took a party of Eastern Townships Militia with him and handsomely acknowledged their zealous services. A new barracks for 1200 men was destroyed and a good many military stores were carried off.

CHAPTER IX

OPERATIONS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER: NEWARK, NIAGARA, BLACK ROCK, AND BUFFALO. 1813

THE BURNING OF NEWARK.—Except for the few small affairs already mentioned the eastern and western frontiers were fairly quiet in December. Not so Niagara. After the British successes in the summer, McClure, the American commander on the Canadian side of the river, retired into Fort George. In October he received permissive orders from Armstrong, the Secretary of War: "Understanding that the defence of the post committed to your charge may render it proper to destroy the town of Newark, you are hereby directed to apprise the inhabitants of this circumstance and to invite them to remove themselves and their effects to some place of greater safety."

McClure decided to evacuate Fort George in December. Newark was no danger whatever to the Americans under these circumstances. But at four o'clock on the afternoon of the 10th he told the people that he was going to burn it down that very night. One hundred and fifty houses were destroyed and 400 women and children were turned out into the bitter cold. This was the worst and most personal side of a disgraceful deed. But the official side should not be forgotten. Newark had once been the capital of Upper Canada, and there the first Parliament had been opened. So in one year the Americans had destroyed both seats of government in the loyalist province, not in retaliation, for no corresponding acts had yet been committed by the British on American territory, but in the desire for destroying

whatever stood for a form of life opposed to their own. In both cases, also, private property suffered wanton outrage; and at Newark the women and children suffered too. There can be no doubt that the irregulars employed at York and, more especially, at Newark contributed to the indiscipline which made such outrages the more likely to happen. But a people is responsible for the acts of its agents no less than an individual person; and the prejudice in favour of untrained forces brings its own punishment and is as well deserving of punishment as wilful mistakes of any other kind.

2. Niagara.—Retribution followed swiftly. McClure crossed the river on the 12th and Colonel Murray took possession of Fort George. Murray found a good many supplies and stronger defences than there had been when the British lost it in the spring. Then General Gordon Drummond came up to the front and took command. Second only to Brock, Drummond was a man of talent, though not a genius, and every inch a soldier. He was nearly Brock's age and had been in Brock's first regiment, the 8th, which he eventually commanded. He had served in Holland, in the West Indies, and in Egypt under Abercromby. He had been born in Quebec while his father was in garrison there; and he had served on the staff in Canada from 1808 to 1811. He was now lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada and second-in-command to Prevost.

Murray at once laid before him a plan of attack, and he at once approved of it. On the night of the 18th-19th of December 600 men, mostly of the 100th, were ferried over and landed nearly three miles above the fort. At four o'clock Murray led them down very cautiously. The outlying pickets and sentries were quietly rushed without exciting alarm, and the men were then detailed to their places for a surprise assault at the moment that the main gate was to be opened for the reliefs to pass out. While one-third stormed

the eastern demi-bastion two-thirds charged straight into the open main gate without firing a shot. The garrison rushed out in alarm and some hand-to-hand fighting followed. But the British bayonet work was magnificently done. The men were well in hand. Murray had the whole affair under perfect control. And in a few minutes the Americans surrendered with a loss of 65 killed, all by the bayonet, and a good many wounded. Drummond was naturally delighted with this most encouraging commencement of his own operations; and he showed his pride in his splendidly disciplined men's achievement by underlining the words *all with the bayonet* in his district order when referring to the enemy's killed and wounded.

Not a moment's time was lost in following up this really fine success. Riall, another good general, new to Canada, was sent across to take Lewiston, out of which the American militia had previously been driven by the Indians. From Lewiston Riall advanced, burning as he went, past Schlosser, to within ten miles of Buffalo, where a broken bridge stopped him. He then returned to Queenston.

3. Black Rock and Buffalo.—McClure had not been in Fort Niagara when it was taken. He wrote excited dispatches about the carelessness of the commandant he had left there, about the wanton slaughter committed by the inhuman British, and about their abominable action in burning villages on the American side of the river. He wound up by professing his ability to defend Buffalo. But he could hardly have believed his own bravado as he left it in charge of another man, General Hall. Hall immediately found himself menaced by the greatest danger. On the 28th Drummond arrived at Chippawa. On the 29th Riall with 600 men and some Indians landed at midnight near Black Rock. He was heavily attacked, but managed to hold his own till daylight, when the Royal Scots, 800 strong, came to his assistance.

He then advanced and drove the Americans into, through, and out of Black Rock altogether. Marching on he scattered the less determined garrison of Buffalo and then laid both Black Rock and Buffalo in ashes.

Thus the year 1813 ended with most effective retaliation for the burning of Newark and York. The whole American side of the Niagara was a line of blackened desolation. Not an inch of artificial cover was left, except at Fort Niagara, which remained in British occupation till the peace.

CHAPTER X

OPERATIONS ON THE FRONTIERS: LA COLLE, OSWEGO, CHIPPAWA, LUNDY'S LANE, FORT ERIE, COOK'S MILLS, MICHILLIMACKINAC. 1814

LA COLLE.—The year 1814 opened with minor affairs on the Montreal frontier, first at Yamaska, on the 10th of January, then at the Salmon River, on the 14th of February, and then at La Colle, on the 30th of March.

A raiding party of Americans was attacked near Yamaska by Captain McGillivray, who had some men of the 5th Embodied Militia and others of the local Sedentary Militia. All these showed great alacrity in turning out for a little fight that did them much credit and won them high praise in general orders.

Major Cockburn of the Canadian Fencibles led the attack on Salmon River, where a large quantity of important stores was captured. Another successful attack was made by a larger force under Colonel Hercules Scott of the 103rd, ten days later, at Salmon River, Malone, and the Four Corners of Châteauguay.

But, so far as hostile collision was concerned, a much more important feat was performed by Major Handcock of the 13th Foot at La Colle, where there was a small British post on the bank of the La Colle, a western tributary of the Richelieu River, which is itself a southern tributary of the St. Lawrence. Wilkinson had decided to resume his attack on Montreal as early as possible, and had moved forward to within striking distance of the La Colle by the 30th of March.

This was a serious attempt at invasion, though the result was somewhat ridiculous in view of the preparations and announcements. Wilkinson followed the line taken by Dearborn in 1812 and by Hampton in 1813. He had about 4000 men with him, and there seemed every chance of his being able to force the British post at La Colle, where Handcock was in garrison with only 200 men at a strong stone mill. Seven miles north of this, at Isle-aux-Noix, there were 200 more; and at Burtonville, between La Colle and Isle-aux-Noix, there were 100. Altogether only 500 men were available at any one of these three points within a few hours.

The American advanced guard had lost its way, retraced its steps, and resumed its march in the morning. Handcock therefore had ample time both to prepare and to send back for reinforcements. Wilkinson put 500 men across the La Colle to cut off retreat and opened on the mill with three light field guns from the other side. Handcock sent his reinforcements, two companies of the 13th, to take the guns. But they could make no impression on the large numbers of the enemy. Some French-Canadians then arrived, and a second attack was made on the guns. But again the British were foiled. The gunboats now came up from Isle-aux-Noix and took the Americans in flank. But nothing could have saved the British if Wilkinson had only pressed his assault home at all costs. He hesitated, however, to incur further losses, called off his men, and retreated. Thus ended the third and last inglorious attempt on the Montreal frontier.

2. Oswego.—The Americans had no well-thought-out plan of campaign for 1814, none at least that could be worked. They raised great numbers of men, principally militia: there were more than a quarter of a million of enlistments this year. But between their complete impotence at sea, which forbade an attack on Quebec, and their general lack of

co-ordination everywhere they simply repeated the efforts and failures of the two campaigns before. Their troops at the front along the Niagara, who were farthest removed from political interference, had greatly improved, as the astonished British generals were soon to find out. But the all-round quality was still poor, owing to the constant influx of raw levies and the many distracting political influences at Washington. The general idea was to cut the British line at Montreal, Niagara, and Michillimackinac, and hold these three points of vantage till peace was made. There were partial successes at Niagara, but ultimate defeat there and everywhere else. Then Prevost struck back; but so ineffectively that he suffered a worse defeat than the Americans themselves.

Lake Ontario was the second scene of action. This time the British made good use of the offensive-defensive, but with incomplete results. Prevost and Baynes remained at headquarters. Drummond and Yeo were in command, and both would have preferred a direct attack on Sackett's Harbour. But Prevost said he could not spare the 1000 men to make up the 4000 thought necessary. It was only on learning this that Oswego was made the main objective. The relative importance of Oswego was less than it had been in the time of Montcalm. But it was second only to Sackett's Harbour, especially since the loss of Fort Niagara. It was a meeting-place for both land and water lines, and its destruction would give much relief to the British on the Niagara frontier, where supplies were running very short indeed.

There was a fort, standing fifty feet above the Lake, with a village on the other side of the river that discharged at this point. Yeo's squadron was strengthened by two new vessels, and the landing party numbered 1100—six companies of the Watteville regiment of foreigners, one of the Glengarries, a small battalion of marines, and some light artillery. Oswego was reached at noon on the 5th of May and a reconnaissance in force was made which drew the enemy's fire and induced

them to report that they had repulsed a real attack. Next morning 800 men were put ashore, 200 of whom were blue-jackets under Captain Mulcaster, who was severely wounded. The commanding fire from the fort made it dangerous work for boats and inshore vessels. But, once landed, the 800 did their work well and quickly. The Glengarries cleared the bush, while the main body rushed the fort with about 100 casualties. The Americans, who numbered 500, retreated up the Oswego to the rapids, thirteen miles inland, where some stores had been previously piled up ready for use if the fort was lost. The rest of the supplies and all the armament fell into British hands. The fort was dismantled, the barracks were burnt, the stores were shipped, and the whole expedition sailed away the next morning for Kingston.

On the 30th a serious reverse on a smaller scale happened to the British in the same neighbourhood. Nineteen American boats were on their way from Oswego to Sackett's Harbour when the British tried to intercept them at Sandy Creek, a little more than half way. Two hundred blue-jackets and marines rowed into the creek, landed, and fell into an ambush, when many were killed or wounded and the rest were all taken prisoners.

In the meantime, on the 14th and 15th, an American called Campbell headed a marauding party across Lake Erie and burnt Port Dover to the ground. No respect was shown to private property. Campbell was tried by court martial on his own side and held to have been justified in destroying the mills and stores, as they could supply the British forces. But he was condemned for burning the private houses.

3. Chippawa.—During the summer the interest of the campaign centred in the Niagara peninsula. Brown, who had commanded at Sackett's Harbour against Prevost, and who had got down to Cornwall safely under Wilkinson, superseded this now disgraced commander after the fiasco

at La Colle. He was at Sackett's Harbour when Drummond and Yeo took Oswego. But he was destined for the Niagara frontier, where the Americans were being well drilled by regular officers in preparation for another effort at invasion. Chauncey had a big new ship launched about this time; and Yeo, who felt unable to risk a battle, under the circumstances, was straining every nerve to build another as a counterpoise. Thus the summer of 1814 promised well for the Americans if they could only manage to combine their movements in effective joint expeditions or simultaneous action in different places towards one predetermined end.

Drummond, on the other hand, was short of men and means of every kind. Loth as he was to do so, on account of its great unpopularity, he felt driven to proclaiming martial law for the purpose of getting supplies when they were absolutely needed. The whole of Upper Canada was suffering from want, and the Niagara peninsula most of all. Drummond was anxious about the line of the Niagara and even about Burlington, for the neck of the peninsula might be crossed by an army marching inland from Lake Erie. He consequently made his general line of defence face west, with the right at Burlington and the left at Fort Niagara. But a thinner line was thrown out along the Niagara to Fort Erie, which made his complete position resemble an L, with the upright (reconnaissance force) running north and south, and the horizontal (main fighting force) east and west. By the end of June there were about 1000 men at the base at York, 500 at Burlington, 1000 at Fort George, 700 at Fort Niagara, 300 at Queenston, 500 round Chippawa, 150 at Fort Erie, and 250 at Long Point on Lake Erie: total 4400, spread over a line of nearly 150 miles. Brown had a slightly larger force, much more concentrated and much better able to assume the initiative. He also had every reason to expect active co-operation from Chauncey in retaking Forts Niagara and George.

On the 3rd of July Winfield Scott's excellent brigade of carefully trained regulars crossed over to the Canadian side and Ripley's regulars landed near the doomed little handful at Fort Erie. Drummond reported his surprise that the fort did not hold out, at all events for a few days. But he had made an error of judgment concerning it and lost heavily in consequence. Abandonment and destruction, as the sequel proved, would have been far better than an insufficient garrison. The Americans took possession the same afternoon and immediately began to make it a really formidable stronghold. On the 4th they advanced to Street's Creek, driving the British outposts in before them. They repaired the bridge and held both sides of the stream. Riall soon heard the news and advanced with all the men that could be immediately withdrawn from Queenston and Fort George. Having got together a little more than 2000, of whom 1500 were regulars, he at once prepared to attack Brown, who had almost his whole command on the ground, considerably over 4000.

The battlefield lay between the Chippawa, which Riall crossed, and Street's Creek. It was of the usual type, woods on one flank, the river on the other, and a clearing, mostly flat, between. The Americans, who were admirably handled by Winfield Scott, took post with their leading brigade backed by defensible buildings and fronted by a ravine. The right rested on the river. To the left rear stood Ripley's regulars, and farther still, on the edge of the bush, Porter's militia and Indians. Roughly, there were about 1500 men in each of these brigades. Riall sent his own militia and Indians against Porter's, to clear the inner flank, and backed them up with the light company of the Royal Scots. The Canadians advanced with much dash, the Royal Scots came up at the double ; and the American militia broke and fled in wild confusion. Seizing this apparently good opportunity Riall sent his regulars at Winfield Scott's regulars, who had come forward to save Porter's fugitives. The two brigades met face

to face and a stubborn fight ensued. But the American regulars stood their ground and fought with the greatest determination in the best of order. Ripley's men prolonged the line to the left, overlapping the British right; and Riall was forced to withdraw the Royals and the 100th, under cover of the 8th, his third and last battalion. The British loss was 500, or 25 per cent.; the American was 400, or less than 10 per cent.

Brown reported his victory and said he was confident of breaking down all resistance between Chippawa and Lake Ontario, where he hoped to meet Chauncey and take the two forts by a joint attack. But Chauncey did not leave Sackett's Harbour till the 1st of August, when the opportunity for joint action had passed. In July Chauncey was ill; he had a new ship on the stocks; and he was not at all pleased at the prospect of being drawn into movements planned by Brown. He stated his case himself in a subsequent letter to Brown, who was naturally furious at the want of support. "We are intended to seek and to fight the enemy's fleet, and I shall not be diverted in my efforts by any sinister attempt to render us subordinate to, or an appendage of, the army."

But, between the 5th and 23rd of July, Brown was still full of hope and his army was carrying the invasion with a high hand. There was a skirmish on the 12th, when an American brigadier of militia was shot. Porter said the shooting occurred after the brigadier had given quarter to a man who repaid this act of clemency by assassinating his benefactor. No good evidence was given in support of this charge; but the news spread and caused much ill-feeling, especially among the American militia, who, even now, in the third year of the war, were only too apt to get out of hand on every possible occasion. During the 18th there was a skirmish round St. David's; and the next day a Colonel Stone of the American militia burnt it completely, as it was what he called "a Tory village." Brown promptly disclaimed all

responsibility and Stone was dismissed the service. But the mischief was done, the militia learnt no better, and feelings were more embittered than ever.

4. Lundy's Lane.—Brown received Chauncey's letter on the 23rd and found that he had to rely on his own resources. This ended his eight days of manœuvring against the Lake Ontario part of the British line. On the 15th Porter had passed round Fort George and skirmished with the troops there on his way back. On the 20th Brown advanced against Fort George in person. He tried to bring on a general action next day; but, failing in this, retired to Queenston on the 22nd. By the morning of the 25th he was back again beside the Chippawa. He now formed a new plan, which he hoped to be able to work out independently of Chauncey. It was to march diagonally across the peninsula, from Chippawa to Burlington, and seize the British advanced base at the latter very important point of junction.

The British had meanwhile been trying to hold the Americans in check without committing themselves to decisive action in the danger zone between Chauncey and Brown. On the 22nd Riall had about 1700 men at Twelve Mile Creek and not quite as many gathering to support him. Half this forming body was composed of Indians, and nearly half the Indians were under Norton, a good fighting man, but a tricky and vainglorious leader to deal with. As Brown retired Riall pushed his advanced guard forward, strengthened it, and began to get into touch with the Americans by means of scouting parties led by the indefatigable Fitzgibbon. As in 1813, when he made 600 Americans surrender at Beaver Dams, Fitzgibbon was the chief fighting scout on this frontier. The general British position was still the same as it had been in June: the rear to Lake Ontario, the right on Burlington, the left on Fort Niagara, and the front feeling its way forward, according to circumstances, with an inclination to

concentrate towards the Niagara river. While Brown was preparing to move diagonally from Chippawa on the 25th the advanced guard of the British, 1000 strong, took post at Lundy's Lane. It was the gradual British reinforcement here that checked Brown's march, committed both sides to close action, and brought about the most desperate battle of the war.

So far the Americans seemed to have a good chance of breaking through to Burlington. But Drummond was hurrying to the front. He reached York on the 22nd and wrote to Riall the next day, ordering a combined movement for the morning of the 25th, the very time Brown had decided upon to commence his own advance. Drummond's idea was to send out all the men that could be spared from Forts Niagara and George to clear away the American batteries then being built on the American side to command Fort George. A simultaneous advance was to be made on the Canadian side of the river ; and each force was to support the other according to circumstances. But Drummond, arriving at Fort Niagara on the eventful morning of the 25th, found that Riall had already begun to advance against Brown. He then modified his own plan. He sent out fewer men on the American side and more on the Canadian. The men from Fort Niagara took Lewiston without opposition and then crossed over to Queenston, where they met the men from Fort George. The whole force rested and had dinner, after which most of the 41st and 100th went back to hold the forts, while Drummond started for Lundy's Lane, seven miles away, with the remainder, about 800 strong.

Brown had just heard of the taking of Lewiston, and had begun to fear for Fort Schlosser, then the principal depôt on the American side. Consequently he decided to create a diversion of the British forces by advancing straight along the Canadian side from Chippawa. He sent Winfield Scott's fine brigade ahead and prepared to follow with the main

body. In the meantime Riall, not knowing that Drummond was so soon to come to his support, and thinking himself about to be attacked by Brown's whole army, ordered Pearson to retire from Lundy's Lane to Queenston, and sent back orders to Hercules Scott, who was bringing up 1200 men from Twelve Mile Creek, to march on Queenston instead of Lundy's Lane. Thus, at the time Drummond came on to the field, the American army was advancing in force, while the British army was partly advancing, partly beginning to retire, and partly being diverted from the coming scene of action on its way there. Riall had thought Brown's three brigades were attacking him together. Winfield Scott had thought Drummond's whole army was already at Lundy's Lane. Winfield Scott found out his mistake and pressed forward. Riall had not yet found out his own mistake and was withdrawing Pearson's 1000. Drummond's men were almost in sight. At this precise juncture Drummond arrived and took in the situation after one masterly glance. There was not a minute to lose—hardly a second. But in that fleeting moment he made up his mind. The Americans were within five minutes' march of the key to the whole position, which Pearson was now evacuating. Drummond immediately told Pearson to turn about and stand fast. He then sent one message to hurry up his own column and another to Hercules Scott to march on Lundy's Lane instead of Queenston.

The British took post with alacrity. The key of the position was a swell of ground—too long for a hillock, too low for a hill—which might well be known as Battle Rise. This rise was a mile inland from the Niagara and just inland from the cross-roads. The main road ran north and south, parallel to the Niagara: north to Queenston, south to Chippawa. Lundy's Lane ran at right angles to this and the river, and passed over the length of the rise. The crest of the rise was a few yards to the south of Lundy's Lane, that is,

towards Chippawa, from which the Americans were advancing. On this crest Drummond placed his seven field guns; and round these guns the thickest of the battle raged from first to last. The British right was held by the Glengarries, thrown forward in advance of the line of guns, to prevent that flank from being turned beside the inland woods. The centre, in rear of the guns, and on the left reverse slope of the rise, was held by detachments of the Royal Scots, the 89th, and the 41st. The left of the centre rested on the cross-roads, and a squadron of the 19th Light Dragoons preserved the connection there with the left, which was held by the incorporated militia supported by a detachment of the 8th.

It was a quarter past six in the evening when Winfield Scott attacked with nearly 1400 men against Drummond's 1800. For an hour the Americans made little impression on the superior British numbers, which stood firmly in a good position. But there was some anxiety on the left, where an American battalion got home, drove a wedge in between different parts of the militia there, and threatened to turn the flank beside the river. The 8th and militia retired, reformed, advanced steadily, drove back the intrusive battalion, and once more made the left secure. But in the meantime Riall, who had been wounded, was taken prisoner. Shortly after seven the rest of Brown's army came up in succession, and by half-past seven there were 3800 Americans in action against Drummond's 1600. Each side had already lost about 200.

Brown, like Winfield Scott, at once saw that Battle Rise was the key to the position, and sent Colonel Miller's battalion, with another in support, to take the guns. The supporting battalion—some of Porter's militia—broke and ran away. But Miller, who had commanded at Maguaga, was a good regular with good regulars to follow him. He took every advantage of the ground and very cleverly worked

his leading men along the far side of a creeper-grown old rail fence within ten yards of the guns. In the heat of action the gunners never saw him till he poured in a deadly volley which killed or wounded every one of them. But Miller's men had no sooner taken the guns than the British centre charged up with the bayonet after a deadly volley of their own. The fight swayed backward and forward over the crest. But neither side could keep the seven guns in that exposed position for more than a few minutes. Finally, both sides retired, each to its own slope of the rise; and the guns stood silent in the middle.

By this time it was nine o'clock and pitch dark. There was a lull in the firing, while the Americans were bringing more ammunition and preparing for another and much more formidable assault on the seven guns. Both sides had lost a good many men. But Brown could afford a higher proportion than Drummond, who now had hardly 1400 left against 3600. The American assault would assuredly have carried the battery had not the British reinforcements arrived just in time. As it was they were barely able to turn the scale. They had marched and counter-marched over twenty miles during that scorching midsummer day. Three hundred of them were sedentary militia, unused to such work, but doing it bravely. Regulars and militia alike were tired and confused on their arrival, at a moment when there was not even the flash of musketry to guide them. The 103rd and the militia plodded along up Lundy's Lane till they suddenly stumbled into the Americans, who were then beside their guns. After falling back in disorder they were rallied and posted in the second line. Some of the other reinforcements prolonged to the right as Drummond was afraid of being turned there.

The British had hardly taken breath again when the assault was recommenced. Again the Americans took the guns on Battle Rise. Again they were driven back, only to

reappear and drive the British off the crest once more. Nothing could be more gallant than the American attack; nothing more stubborn than the British defence. The fight went on till midnight. Brown and Winfield Scott had both been wounded. Drummond was severely wounded too, and Riall was a prisoner. The Americans were suffering from thirst and becoming worn out by their exertions. The British could hardly stand up to fire. Then the Americans, slowly and sullenly, as if they knew that Battle Rise could not resist the one last charge they now had no more power to press home, began to retire towards Chippawa, where they had got under arms that morning, eighteen hours before. The British slept out the rest of the short summer night on the ground they had so gallantly defended. In another four hours the sun shone down on the living and the dead, on that silent battery, on the unconquered Rise.

It was a more even fight than the American retreat would lead one to suppose. Neither side had been able either to take or hold the battery; though the Americans had carried off one of its seven guns. The numbers varied on each side. The British exceeded the Americans at first, the Americans exceeded the British from the middle to the end. But 4000 attacking 3000—these were the respective grand totals—are no great odds. The losses were nearly 900 on the British side and about 1000 on the American. The 89th had the largest percentage of casualties—62½. Victory was uncertain till the very end. But the American retreat finally left the field in possession of the British.

5. Fort Erie.—Drummond dismissed the sedentary militia to their farms to save the harvest while he pressed on towards Lake Erie. On the 2nd of August he sent 600 men over to Buffalo. They were to take Buffalo first and then to turn against Black Rock. But the landing was made below

Black Rock by mistake. The Schojeaquady Creek lay between the British and both Black Rock and Buffalo. The Americans were on the alert. The creek bridge was broken. And the discomfited 600 recrossed the Niagara with 30 casualties. On the 4th Gaines took command at Fort Erie, and on the 5th Chauncey made his belated appearance off Fort George. On the night of the 12th Captain Dobbs, of the Navy, cut out a couple of small American vessels off Fort Erie; and Drummond, who had now been reinforced, planned a night assault for the 15th.

The American engineers had made good use of their time, and the fort was more than twice as strong as it had been when in British hands. The garrison, too, was vigilant, steady, and well led. It numbered about 2000; though Drummond stated in his orders that "the enemy's force does not exceed 1500 fit for duty." His three assaulting columns numbered only 2200, much too small an excess for safety. Only another 1000 were held in reserve. The main column, under Colonel Fischer of the Watteville regiment of foreigners, comprised some men of the 8th, 89th, and 100th, as well as the Wattevilles, and numbered about 1300. To guard against premature firing the men's flints were drawn and orders were given that they should go in with the bayonet alone. About half-past two in the morning the main column was heard approaching and the alarm was given. Instantly the Americans poured in a galling fire of musketry and grape. Surprise was now out of the question. But the light companies dashed in and held their ground for a few minutes. The left column meanwhile attacked and was driven back with the loss of its leader, Hercules Scott. It then joined the centre column of 250 men, who were attacking the old fort. The 800 men of these two columns made three unsuccessful attempts. A fourth was successful for a moment. A footing was gained in a bastion, which was stubbornly held until the whole bastion was blown up bodily. The British leader here,

Colonel Drummond, like every other man in the bastion, was killed. General Drummond then ordered up the reserves to cover a retreat.

The British loss was nearly 1000, the American very much less. The defeat was freely attributed to the Watteville foreigners, who, though with a good previous reputation, turned and fled when they found themselves discovered and fired at. But there is this to be said in their favour, that, having no flints handy, they could not reply to a fire which cut them down while they were massed together in very close order at a decisive range. The fighting was very determined on both sides, apart from the Wattevilles; and though, with the Wattevilles gone, the assaulting British certainly did not outnumber, if they equalled, the defending Americans, yet the vigour with which the Americans stood their ground was worthy of all praise.

The siege dragged on for a month, when Brown ordered a sortie in full force. The British batteries were taken; but were regained by the reserves, who drove the Americans back with the bayonet. The British loss, 600, again exceeded the American. This was on the 17th of September. Four days later Drummond raised the siege and retired beaten.

6. The Close of the Niagara Campaign.—On the 6th of October Drummond reported a large American encampment near Lewiston. This was Izard's army from Lake Champlain and Sackett's Harbour. Izard marched up the river and joined Brown, who handed over the command to him. He now had 6000 men, with whom he set off down the Canadian side on the 13th. He halted before the British position at Chippawa, which had been greatly strengthened by reinforcements and by the calling out of the local militia. In spite of this, however, Drummond's force was not much more than half that of Izard. Fortunately for the British, and unfortunately for the Americans, Yeo had now come up, while

Chauncey was still in Sackett's Harbour. Izard reconnoitred the Chippawa and then sent a brigade inland to Lyon's Creek, where, at a place called Cook's Mills, twelve miles from Chippawa, there was a heavy skirmish in which the Americans were repulsed. Izard soon afterwards withdrew, dismissed his militia, blew up Fort Erie on the 5th of November, and went into winter quarters. This ended the war on the Niagara frontier.

7. Michillimackinac.—When Barclay and Procter were defeated in the autumn of 1813 it seemed that there could be no hope for the British at Michillimackinac. The regular line by Lake Erie and the Detroit was closed and the other two lines were so roundabout that supplies and reinforcements sent by them could never match those sent by the Americans, who held the easy southern lines. All that was left was one line by the Ottawa and Lake Nipissing, and another overland to the Nottawasaga, which could be reached from York, and which, when reached, offered a line into Georgian Bay and thence across Lake Huron. By great exertions a tiny British depôt was established on the Nottawasaga, and in the spring of 1814 Colonel McDouall of the Glengarries left it, taking with him the supplies of which the distant little garrison stood so much in need. He had only 90 men, mostly belonging to the Newfoundland regiment. After much difficulty and not a little danger this relief force arrived at Michillimackinac on the 18th of May.

McDouall immediately took over the command of the post. He was an enterprising man; so, finding himself strengthened by some Indians, he sent an officer called McKay against an American fort at Prairie du Chien on the banks of the Upper Mississippi. McKay followed the line taken by Jolliet and Marquette and arrived at his objective on the 17th of July. The fort surrendered, though supported by a gunboat on the river, and McKay took possession on the 19th.

But in the meantime Michillimackinac itself was attacked by an American force consisting of five vessels from the Lake Erie squadron, with 700 men as a landing party, commanded by Croghan, who had defeated Procter at Fort Stephenson. Croghan easily took St. Joseph's Island and raided Sault Ste. Marie, then a very small settlement. After this the whole expedition concentrated against Michillimackinac, where the Americans landed on the 4th of August. McDouall had only 200 men with him at the time, Indians included. But he went out to attack the men who had come to attack him. There was a sharp fight. The American second-in-command was killed, and the invaders, who had more than twice McDouall's numbers ashore and an overwhelming force afloat, retreated under cover of the guns of their flotilla. They then crossed the lake to Nottawasaga, where they attacked the depôt. This, being untenable, was blown up by Lieutenant Worsley of the Navy; whereupon the garrison crossed the lake in the opposite direction and found their way safely to Michillimackinac. Here Worsley led an expedition against two American vessels which had returned from Detroit, the *Tigress* and the *Scorpion*. With the capture of these, on the 3rd and 5th of September, the war in the West came to an end, and the British remained as completely triumphant on Lake Huron as the Americans on Lake Erie.

8. Minor Events in Western Ontario.—Fifteen men, being British subjects taken in arms against the British forces, were tried for high treason and condemned to death at Ancaster. But only eight were hanged. Joseph Willcocks, ex-member of the parliament of Upper Canada, was killed in action, and a few others suffered the same fate. But it was not the men who fought as American soldiers who were the worst enemies of Canada. It was the settlers who had come into Canada from the United States and who, having become British subjects, and learnt about the people

among whom they lived, formed bands of marauders to harry and plunder the loyalists in a way no good American general would have tolerated, much less instigated. Brown, Winfield Scott, and Izard were generals of the right sort. But some others, particularly militiamen, were not so military in their discipline or even in their views.

One Dickson and party murdered Captain Francis of the Upper Canada militia in October. The murder was reported by Colonel Talbot, Major Salmon, and others; and Drummond ordered Major-General Stovin, commanding the right Division, to take retaliatory measures against the enemy. The scene of the murder was not far from the place where Basden had been cut up at Delaware the previous March. But the circumstances were entirely dissimilar.

In the autumn there was an American raid on a comparatively large scale. The American total was estimated, but probably much over-estimated, at 1500 mounted men. The handful of British troops west of the Niagara peninsula could do nothing. This raid was not the same as the marauding parties; but a great deal of wanton burning was done. Drummond reported to Yeo that "all the resources (and the mills) of the country to the westward of the Grand River" had been destroyed. Private property suffered with public. But other outrages were rarely committed in this closing scene of the seamy side of the war in the western districts.

CHAPTER XI

BRITISH COUNTER-INVASION OF THE UNITED STATES: MAINE, PLATTSBURG. 1814

MAINE.—Prevost and Plattsburg have so much overshadowed everything else that occurred in September that the expedition organised by Sir John Sherbrooke in Nova Scotia against the Americans in Maine is usually forgotten. Moose Island then had a population of 1500, a militia force of 250, and a harbour defence work called Fort Sullivan. On the 11th of July Sir Thomas Hardy in H.M.S. *Ramillies* and Colonel Pilkington with about 1000 troops demanded and obtained the surrender of this fort. Moose Island and the adjacent parts of the bay were then occupied and held till after the end of the war.

On the 26th of August Sir John Sherbrooke himself led a larger expedition against the Maine coast between the New Brunswick border and the Penobscot River. He had a landing force of about 2000 troops and he was convoyed by Admiral Griffith, who had nine men-of-war. The expedition arrived off the Penobscot at dawn on the 1st of September. Fort Castine, near the mouth, was abandoned and blown up by the retreating Americans, who made their stand at Hampden, twenty-seven miles up, in a very strong position. But there was little fighting. The British infantry on land and the British boats on the river worked together admirably. The Americans again retreated, setting fire to their own frigate, the *Adams*, as they did so. They were promptly followed up by land and water; and they all laid down their arms in an unconditional surrender at Bangor on the 3rd.

On the 11th, the day Prevost failed at Plattsburg, Colonel Pilkington and Captain Hyde Parker of the Navy took possession of Machias and were preparing to clear the whole country here, as along the Penobscot, when they received a joint letter from the officials of the county of Washington, promising that there would be no resistance whatever, either then or for the rest of the war, if the British would guarantee the inhabitants from molestation of all kinds. These terms were accepted; and Pilkington wrote to Sherbrooke to point out what a valuable piece of territory had thus been brought under British administration. "It embraces about 100 miles of sea-coast and includes that intermediate tract of country which separates the province of New Brunswick from Lower Canada." The county of Washington was then part of the district of Maine, which itself formed part of the state of Massachusetts. This county and much other contiguous territory were included in the formal annexation proclaimed at Halifax by Sherbrooke on the 21st of September. The terms of delimitation included "all the eastern side of the Penobscot river and all the country lying between the same river and the boundary line of the Province of New Brunswick, including Long Island and all the other islands near and contiguous to the shores thereof." The British remained in undisputed possession till after the war was over.

2. Plattsburg.—Whether Prevost's natural character was warped by circumstances, weakened by strain, and perhaps by incipient illness, or simply broken down by what it had no force to master, will never be known. Three points, however, are certain. He reopened most ill-timed and disadvantageous negotiations with the Americans in May for another of his truces, not only without warrant from the Home Government but with their strong disapproval when they found out what he was doing. He became obsessed with the idea of

joint expeditions run mad, so much so that he thought co-operation meant naval action first, or at least simultaneously, under all possible conditions, and never military first, to make the naval more effective afterwards. Thus he failed egregiously, even for him, to solve the simple problem set at Plattsburg. Some good fighting leaders have failed, like the great French admiral Tourville, because they hesitated to take full responsibility in the absence of direct orders. But this excuse does not hold good in Prevost's case; for Bathurst had written out to him to say that, in view of the strong reinforcements he was getting, he was expected to strike a hard and decisive blow at once.

Sixteen thousand Peninsular veterans, those men who, according to Wellington, "could go anywhere and do anything," had come out to Canada during the summer of 1814. Ten thousand of these, or equally seasoned regulars of Canadian service, were told off for the expedition against Plattsburg, where the really decisive blow was now to be struck. Plattsburg, which occupied a commanding position on the west side of Lake Champlain, had been raided with perfect impunity the year before; and the Americans were so little anxious about it now that they had sent off Izard with three or four thousand regulars to Sackett's Harbour and, eventually, to the Niagara frontier, for the close of the campaign against Drummond. Izard had taken his best men and left the worst 1500 with one of his brigadiers, General Macomb. These 1500 were hurriedly reinforced by calling out the militia *en masse* at the last minute. But not more than 2500, at the very outside, had joined before Prevost appeared; and Macomb could not have had more than 3500 second-rate "effectives" actually under arms when Prevost brought 7000 of the most really effective soldiers in the world straight against him. Indeed, Macomb stated his strength at only 2500, all told, on the day of the battle. But there is reason to believe that his field state

did not include nearly 1000 men who were either late arrivals or militia that came in from outside the confines of New York.

Not only was Macomb's force small and inefficient but it had no strong defences to rely upon when Prevost crossed the frontier, barely five-and-twenty miles away, on the 1st of September. Having marched at the rate of five miles a day Prevost arrived at the Saranac River on the 6th. Part of the little town lay on the north bank, where he halted, and part on the south, where the feeble American fortifications stood. These fortifications could be bombarded from both the north and west, without crossing the convenient river, which had a ford about two miles up. The leisurely advance of the British had not inspired the Americans with much hope. The New York militia, supported by some regulars, had tried to delay the march. But the veteran "Peninsulars" simply walked through all opposition, hardly deigning to notice it. "The militia," according to the American official report, "fell back most precipitately in the greatest disorder. So undaunted was the enemy that he never deployed in his whole march, always pressing on in column." If Napoleon, who should have known, was right in holding that the moral counts as three to one against the physical in war, then Prevost had a superiority of six to one, at least.

Indeed, at the time he arrived he had more, as the militia were coming in steadily during the five days he waited for the naval attack which ought to have waited for him. It is not too much to say that the physical odds, in mere numbers, were three to one in his favour on the 6th, and the moral odds far greater still. The Americans prepared to fight, and fight well. But they knew they would be defeated, and defeated without the least taint of dishonour. While Prevost waited and threw up batteries they worked with splendid perseverance to make themselves as strong as they could.

They had to depend upon their own defences on land; for Macdonough's flotilla in the bay, though little more than a mile from the shore works, could be of no assistance so long as it might itself be attacked by Downie's British flotilla coming round Cumberland Head at any time the wind suited. On the other hand, too, Macdonough could expect no help at all from the shore works, as the fire would be as dangerous to friend as to foe in a general *mêlée*. So, to add to their many disadvantages, the American land and water forces were just out of supporting distance of each other and much readier for defeat than victory.

The British, of course, enjoyed the corresponding advantages; for, while Macomb and Macdonough could not support each other, the defeat of one would entail the defeat of both. Beyond all doubt the best way for the British to ensure this double defeat was to beat Macomb first and Macdonough afterwards. Macdonough's flotilla was small. Its vessels were lightly and hastily built. It lay at anchor well within range of Macomb's heavy siege artillery, which, in its own turn, lay within easy reach of Prevost's magnificent and overwhelming veterans. There is no doubt about the range. To take up a suitable position in which to meet Downie's flotilla Macdonough was forced to lie within a mile or a mile and a half of the shore. His flagship was certainly well within 2500 yards; and the long 24- and 32-pounders then had an effective range up to 3000 yards with an elevation of only 15 degrees. That he knew his danger is proved by his moving over to Crab Island after the battle so as to get safely out of range.

Now, quite apart from the expediency of Prevost's attacking Macomb first and at once, in order that both American forces should be overwhelmed in the same defeat, there was an imperative naval reason why he should have done so. Macdonough had a double chance of victory at anchor in the bay, but a double chance of being beaten when in motion on

the lake outside. If he lay at anchor, in a carefully chosen naval position—though not a safe one from shore attack—he would have his sails and rigging less exposed, his ground tackle better prepared for winding ship, that is, for turning round in her own length to use the other broadside, and he would also have all his men at battle quarters, instead of half at the sails, like Downie. Then, his other, and still greater, advantage in being at anchor in the bay during a purely naval action was that his main armament was of carronades while Downie's was of long cannons. The difference was much the same as that between a shot-gun and a rifle. Carronades were short guns with a big bore and a heavy charge of small projectiles which did tremendous execution against both men and light material at close quarters, but which were quite harmless much beyond a musket-shot. Long cannons, on the other hand, were no match for carronades at close quarters, where their single projectiles could not possibly make one-twentieth as many hits, and where the individually superior hit did not tell so thoroughly when made, at least, in comparison. But anywhere beyond a quarter of a mile the cannon had the carronade entirely at its mercy, for there could be no reply at all. So it was highly probable that Downie could beat Macdonough to annihilation outside, while it was equally probable that Macdonough could beat Downie to annihilation inside the bay, as, in that most untoward battle, he actually did.

Macdonough was an excellent officer, with a good standing in the service already. He had worked hard to get his little flotilla ready; and he at least had the satisfaction of not being hampered by an incompetent chief ashore. By the 1st of June he had all his vessels afloat together, except the *Eagle;* and throughout the summer he commanded the lake, as the British were well behind him in their preparations. His flagship was the *Saratoga*, with eight long 24-pounders and eighteen carronades, six of these short guns being 42-

and twelve 32-pounders. But Downie's flagship, the *Confiance*, was being hurried forward with all possible speed. She was not named in any spirit of arrogant anticipation, as it has often been supposed she was, but because *La Confiance* was a French prize won and commanded by Yeo some years before. Her armament was twenty-seven long 24-pounders and ten carronades, of which six were 24's and four were 32's. Great things were expected from her; and she and the *Linnet* were undoubtedly more than a match for the whole American flotilla out on the lake at long ranges. But she was not to be ready, according to Prevost's own report, till the 15th; and she was not designed to cope with Macdonough at anchor in the bay.

If Prevost knew that she could not be ready till the 15th it is hard to see why he showed his hand so soon by crossing the frontier a whole fortnight earlier, thus warning the enemy of his point of attack. Two lines of advance were open to him, New York or Vermont. He chose New York because Vermont was supplying the British with beef. A Vermonter, writing to Izard, said: "Droves of cattle are continually passing from the northern parts of this state into Canada for the British." Izard, when forwarding this information, said: "This confirms a fact not only disgraceful to our own countrymen but seriously detrimental to the public interest." The British commissary at Prescott wrote in June: "I have contracted with a Yankee magistrate to furnish this post with fresh beef." But it was not only beef that was supplied by Americans to their country's enemies. One of Macdonough's officers seized some spars consigned to the British yard where the *Confiance* was then building. So Prevost was undoubtedly right to choose New York. But if he chose it rightly he entered it too soon. And if he put off a *coup de main* too long, why did he not put it off a little longer, to give Downie a better chance of preparing to fight under conditions that were

bound to be disadvantageous if the battle was to be fought in the bay?

Downie only took command of his flotilla on the 2nd of September, two days after Prevost's advanced guard had crossed the frontier twenty-five miles north of Plattsburg Bay. He was urged to go into action on the 9th. He actually tried to do so on the 10th. And he fought the battle on the 11th, four days before the time Prevost had himself reported as the date by which the flagship could be ready. Downie, who was a good naval officer, naturally objected to risk an action on which so much depended before he was ready, especially if he was to fight it under Prevost's disabling orders. But he was a junior, and Prevost was both Governor-General and Commander-in-chief. The unfortunate *Confiance* was launched on the 25th of August, seen by Downie for the first time on the 2nd of September, and hauled out into the stream on the 7th. Her powder was then being towed in a bateau while her magazine was being built. On the 8th the gun crews went to their stations for the first time. On the 9th she lay at anchor off Chazy, where the gun crews tried some battle practice, while the artificers were at work all over the ship, setting up rigging, fitting beds, coins, belaying pins, &c.—everything, in short, that was indispensable in working the guns and the vessel herself. The day before this Prevost had written to Downie telling him to "combine a co-operation with the division of the army under my command," and adding: "I only wait for your arrival to proceed against General Macomb's last position on the south bank of the Saranac." The very day itself, the 9th, he said: "In consequence of your communication of yesterday I have postponed action until your squadron is prepared to co-operate. I need not dwell with you on the evils resulting to both services from delay." A stinging postscript to this letter warned Downie that he was being watched from headquarters: "Captain Watson is

directed to remain at Little Chazy until you are preparing to get under way."

Of course it was Prevost's duty to get intelligence immediately. But this postscript, taken in conjunction with the cumulative effect of the preceding letters, and made far stronger by the letter that followed, was shamefully provocative. Thus urged by the supreme authority Downie prepared to sail that midnight with the intention of attacking Macdonough at dawn on the 10th, the ominous anniversary of the battle of Lake Erie. But a headwind prevented him. He at once reported to Prevost, who impatiently wrote back: "In consequence of your letter the troops have been held in readiness since six o'clock this morning to storm the enemy's works at nearly the same moment as the naval action begins in the bay. I ascribe the disappointment I have experienced to the unfortunate change of wind, and shall rejoice to learn that my reasonable expectations have been frustrated by no other cause."

No other cause. These words may not have been meant for an innuendo at all. But, if they were not so meant, they should never have been written in such an ambiguous way. For if there is one point of honour more than any other on which an officer is sensitive it is the one concerned with questions of personal courage. And if there is one imputation meaner than any other it is the one which casts a slur of this kind on any officer without indubitable warrant. Now, Prevost had been in the service all his life, like his father before him, and he must have known what effect a remark like this from a commander-in-chief would produce on a sensitive junior, especially if that junior's own service was of a different kind. It is bad enough to be apparently doubted by the chiefs of your own service. But it is far worse for a soldier to be doubted by a sailor, or a sailor by a soldier. The immediate effect of this letter was evident to Major Coore, who, in his attempted vindication of Prevost, written

to a Canadian paper on the 26th of February, 1815, reported these words as having been used by Downie : " I am surprised Sir George Prevost should think it necessary to urge me upon this subject. He must feel I am as desirous of proceeding to active operations as he can be. But I am responsible for the squadron, and no man shall make me lead it into action before I consider it in a fit condition." The poison worked quickly, however, and produced a very different ulterior effect ; for a little later, as Captain Pring afterwards testified on oath at the court martial, Downie said : " This letter does not deserve an answer. But I will convince him that the naval force will not be backward in their share of the attack."

The court-martial evidence of Pring, who was in command of the *Linnet*, of Robertson, who was lieutenant of the *Confiance*, and of Brydone, who was her sailing-master, all agrees on the following as being the gist of Downie's subsequent remarks to Pring, when Pring urged the extreme risk of going into action inside the bay on the 11th : " When the batteries are stormed and taken possession of by the British land forces, which the commander of the land forces has promised to do at the moment the naval action commences, the enemy will be obliged to quit his position, whereby we shall obtain decided advantage over them during the confusion. I would otherwise prefer fighting them on the lake, and would wait until our force is in an efficient state. But I fear they would take shelter up the lake and would not meet us on equal terms." So, for the honour of the Navy and his own, and on the faith of Prevost's promise to make a simultaneous attack by land, Downie sailed to his doom early in the morning of that disastrous 11th of September 1814.

The signal of his approach was the firing of a few blank rounds just above Cumberland Head. The conditions were perfect for sound ; and the moderate nor'nor'easter carried it down to Prevost, who was only six miles away. Prevost had been waiting so long that he must have been as ready as he

ever intended to be when the guns gave their ample warning about a quarter past five. Two hours later the flotilla hove to while Downie put off in a boat to reconnoitre. There lay Macdonough, with almost exactly the same force as his own, at least in *matériel*—a ship, a brig, a schooner, a sloop, and ten little gunboats. But Macdonough's armament of 83 pieces was mostly designed for close quarters, while his own, of 90 pieces, was mostly designed for long ranges. The difference in crews was also in favour of Macdonough, who had a fair proportion of really good seamen aboard, though he required them much less, being snugly at anchor in the bay. Downie's crews were hurriedly made up by odd drafts from men-of-war at Quebec, by some marine artillerymen, and by a detachment of the 39th, who were suddenly marched on board just in time for the abortive start on the night of the 9th. In default of sailors Downie had asked for the nearest available soldiers. These scratch crews, thus hastily thrown together, did not know their shipmates by sight or even their officers; and there was no time to settle down, any more than there was for the flagship *Confiance* to find herself, since the artificers were hammering away harder than ever while the squadron was actually on its way to meet Macdonough.

After carefully reconnoitring the enemy, who were placed with consummate skill by Macdonough exactly where they could act with the greatest effect at close quarters, Downie went aboard his flagship, the artificers at last stopped hammering, and the four British vessels, armed for long ranges only, came south, cleared Cumberland Head, changed course together to the westward, and stood in to meet the four Americans hand to hand. To Downie's intense consternation Prevost showed no sign of moving to the promised attack by land, though there had been ample time for preparation and though the need for immediate co-operation was now imperative. The two armies faced each other like the opposing factions at a prize-fight while the principals fought

it out in the ring. If either Service ought to have begun first it was most decidedly the army under Prevost, who must have defeated Macomb, and who could then have either forced Macdonough away from his anchorage or destroyed him by gun-fire at it.

Ill-luck pursued Downie from the first. The wind failed inside the bay and the *Confiance* could not reach her fighting station. Her first broadside was well delivered and struck down forty men aboard the *Saratoga*. But her cables were cut by the *Saratoga's* return fire ; and then, after fifteen minutes' close action, Downie was killed. The *Linnet* supported the *Confiance* with dauntless resolution. But the third British vessel, the *Finch*, not keeping near enough to the wind, failed to come into proper action against the *Ticonderoga* and ultimately went ashore on Crab Island opposite to Cumberland Head. The fourth British vessel, the *Chub*, also failed to keep her station when approaching. She drifted through the American line and hauled down her colours, after a comparatively short fight in support of the *Linnet* against the *Eagle*. Of the eleven British gunboats only four did any service to their side at all. These fought with splendid gallantry and extorted the admiration of their foes. But the other seven hung back under a contemptible leader who eventually ran away and afterwards deserted in order to escape a court martial.

The heart of the fight lay in the double duel between the British *Confiance* and *Linnet*, on the one side, and the American *Saratoga* and *Eagle* on the other. The fourth American vessel, the *Preble*, had drifted off towards the Plattsburg batteries, but the third, the *Ticonderoga*, kept her position easily against the four British gunboats. The American gunboats had little chance of hard work under the circumstances. After the battle had been raging for an hour and a half the *Eagle* cut and ran down, south of the *Saratoga*, anchored by the stern there, and swung round so

as to bring her previously unengaged broadside to bear. Her new position was an ideal one. She could fire on both the British without their being able to reply to anything but the deadly, close-quarter carronades of the *Saratoga*. A few minutes later both flagships slackened fire and the *Saratoga* took the opportunity to wind ship, that is, to turn herself completely round, so as to present a new broadside like the *Eagle*. She had carefully prepared for this emergency, had her cables and anchors all ready on her disengaged side, and so wound ship without a hitch. The *Confiance* was then forced either to do the same or be hopelessly overmatched. But as her cables and anchors had been shot away when she was standing in, bow on, she had to improvise the necessary tackle, in a very inferior way, during the heat of action. She swung very slowly and when at right angles to the fresh *Saratoga* was raked fore and aft with dire effect. The mixed, scratch crew, that had been fighting hard for two hours already, without a sign of relief from Prevost's impotent army, suddenly flinched from the guns, and all the desperate efforts of the few surviving officers could not make them stand to again. The ship was sinking. Her side was torn with more than a hundred holes, and the only way she could be kept afloat at all was by running her port guns in so as to give her a list to starboard. Nearly half her crew were killed or wounded, and she threatened to go down before her fresh broadside could be brought to bear. She consequently struck, precisely at eleven, and was followed by Pring's gallant little *Linnet* fifteen minutes later.

Meanwhile Prevost had done nothing effective on land. His plans were bad, their execution worse, and his feeble fighting worst of all. He was too late in beginning, too slow in advancing, too disjointed in combining his flank and frontal attacks, and hopelessly weak in pressing home. More than half his force was sent round by the fords, through the woods and back along the other side, a distance of about six

miles. The staff work, badly co-ordinated by the commander-in-chief, was no better than the rest of the higher leading on that disastrous day. Intermittent firing, marches, and countermarches occupied most of the time. Not a single attempt was made to storm Macomb's position before the last British flag had been lowered in the bay. Thus did Prevost goad Downie into premature action, desert him in the hour of need, and, by so doing, bring about the most shameful of all defeats in British history either on land or sea.

A bitter controversy soon began to rage round the battle of Plattsburg, and men still take sides about it. Yeo formulated the naval charges against Prevost, who was summoned home for a court martial. But Prevost's ill-starred course was run, and he died on the 5th of January 1816, at the age of forty-eight, a month before the court was to have begun his trial. He did good work in conciliating the French-Canadians, who have never forgotten their diplomatic friend. Moreover he had several good qualities which might have made him an average civil governor in less stirring times. But he was in no way fitted for the stern, hard work of war, in which so much depends on the power of calling forth disciplined enthusiasm and then controlling it by strength of character. He was no empire-maker, no commander, not even a really good officer. He failed, and failed egregiously; and his failure ensured an American victory that proved to be the most decisive in the war.

Prevost and his family and friends defended his actions as best they could. But the facts, when duly weighed and marshalled, are all against him. His own officers, as well as Macomb and Macdonough, have often been quoted to show that the American flotilla was out of range, and that therefore he was not to blame for not carrying Macomb's position in order to force Macdonough to leave the bay. But the topography and the known effective ranges of the

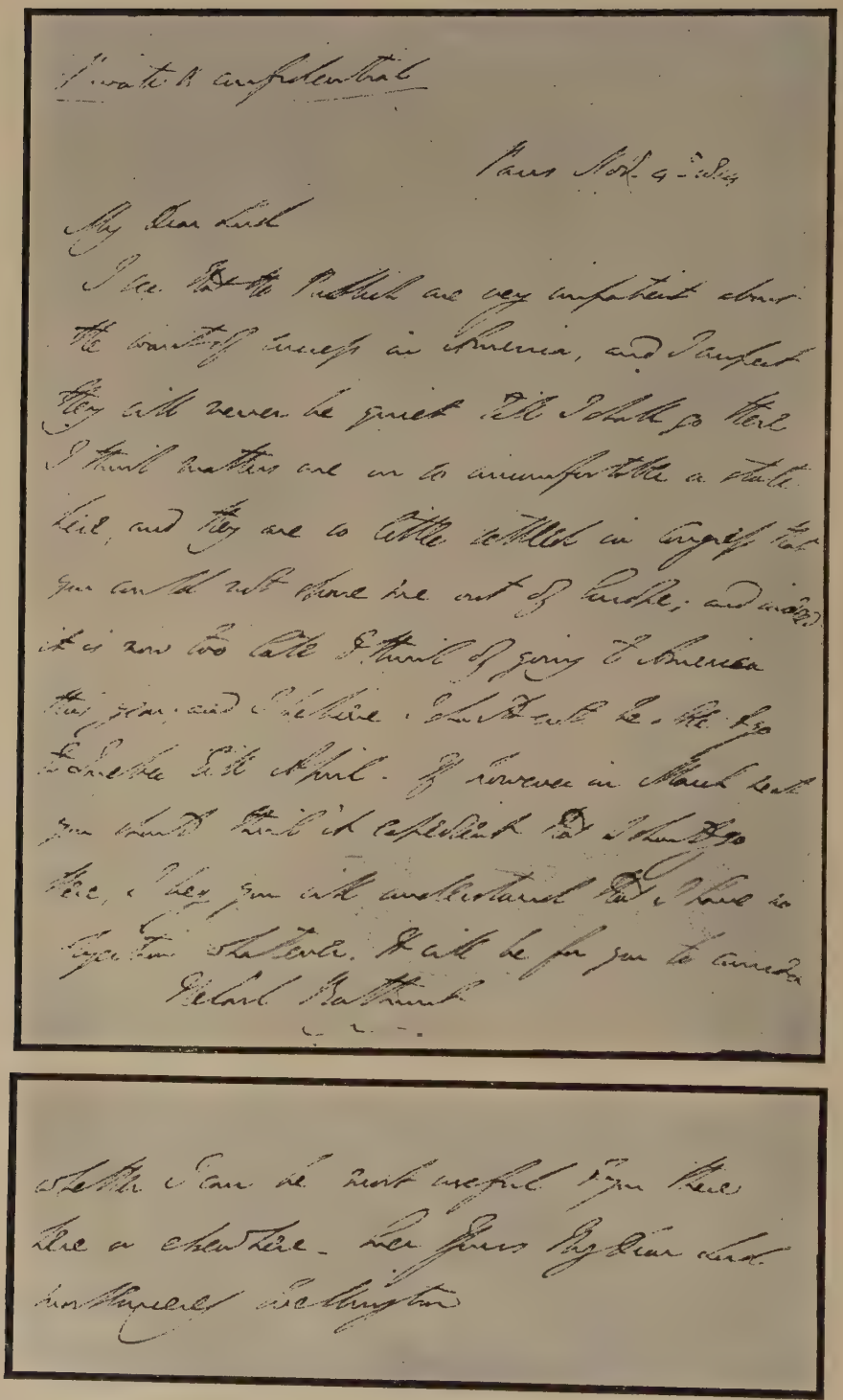
actual artillery employed rule this much-distorted evidence quite out of court. The ranges at which the *Confiance* fired were regulated by the distance of the enemy's flotilla, and her misses naturally dropped five hundred yards short of the shore, as truly stated by Macomb, who was giving evidence as to what actually happened. But these shots dropped short simply for want of elevation. The heavy artillery in Macomb's shoreward batteries, ranging effectively 3000 yards, must have driven out Macdonough at 2500. In this connection it is interesting to note that Colonel Williamson, who commanded Wolfe's artillery at Quebec in 1759, made some experiments at Minorca in 1745–6 in which he threw a 224-pound shell out of a 13-inch mortar a distance of 4570 yards. The siege guns had a shorter range than the mortars. But of the fact that a 24-pounder long gun in 1812 ranged more than 3000 yards there is no doubt whatever; while there is equally no doubt that Macomb had bigger guns than 24-pounders, in a commanding position at a less distance from Macdonough than 3000 yards, and that Prevost could certainly have taken them before Downie arrived. The other main argument in favour of Prevost is Wellington's letter, saying: "Whether Sir George Prevost was right or wrong in his decision at Lake Champlain is more than I can tell; though of this I am certain, he must equally have retired *after the fleet was beaten*, and I am inclined to think he was right." Of course he was right, under the circumstances presented to Wellington. But the point is that those very circumstances were brought about by previous actions which Prevost entirely controlled and which, without one exception, were altogether wrong.

CHAPTER XII

THE END OF THE WAR. 1814-15

THE position of the combatants at the end of the war was this. The two annihilating victories won by Perry and Macdonough had given the Americans absolute command of Lakes Erie and Champlain. But, on the other hand, Lake Ontario was still in dispute; and the three campaigns for the conquest of Canada had all ended in complete failure. Not a foot of Canadian territory was held by any American force except on the banks of the Detroit. But British forces held American territory in three important places: on the right at Michillimackinac, with a sphere of influence southwards to the Upper Mississippi; in the centre at Fort Niagara; and on the left in Maine. Moreover, while the British omnipotence at sea had closed the Atlantic to the Americans, and had utterly destroyed their eastward trade with the Old World, it had given Quebec and Halifax a large share of what had been taken away from all the ports between New England and New Orleans.

Yet, while there was decisive victory so far as the actual defence of Canada was concerned, there were many vexed questions for the Home Government to adjust before finally making up their minds to negotiate terms of peace. They wanted some guarantee against future American armaments on the Great Lakes, some stronger hold on the West, some protection for the friendly Indians there, and some change of the boundary in Maine. All this was more or less indefinite in form but clear enough in spirit. The first idea was to treat on the *Uti possidetis* principle. But the Ameri-



FACSIMILE OF A CONFIDENTIAL LETTER FROM FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE RIGHT HONBLE. THE EARL BATHURST, DATED 4TH NOVEMBER, 1814.

To face p. 131

cans, seeing that this would work out against them, refused point blank. There was a good deal of diplomatic shrewdness in this refusal. The British had territorial interests in all parts of the world: the Americans only in one. The British were entangled in the volcanic affairs of Europe: the Americans were not. The British could not secure united national feeling in favour of a special frontier policy in what most Britons considered remote outlandish wilds: the Americans could. Territorial integrity was, indeed, the one thing on which all Americans could agree among themselves.

There was some idea of continuing the war to retrieve the shameful disaster at Plattsburg and make the British occupation of American territory effective enough to force a favourable consideration of the *Uti possidetis* principle. In view of this possibility it was thought that Wellington might lead a new invasion himself. Indeed, his taking Prevost's place was most seriously considered, as is shown by the following letter to Lord Bathurst, then Secretary of State for War:

Private and Confidential

PARIS, *November* 4, 1814.

MY DEAR LORD,—I see that the Publick are very impatient about the want of success in America, and I expect they will never be quiet until I shall go there. I think that matters are in such an uncomfortable state here, and they are so little settled in Congress, that you could not spare me out of Europe; and, indeed, it is too late to think of going to America this year; and I believe I should not be able to go to Quebec till April. If, however, in March next, you should think it expedient that I should go there, I beg that you will understand that I have no objection whatever. It will be for you to consider whether I can be most useful to you there, here, or elsewhere.—Ever yours, my dear Lord, most sincerely, WELLINGTON.

The "uncomfortable" state of affairs did keep him in Europe; and so negotiations began between the British, with their world-wide territorial interests, and the Americans, whose interests were all at home. The result was the Treaty of Ghent, which, in a general way, left things very much as they were before, and which, on the whole, was a decided triumph for American diplomacy. The British clause for the protection of the western Indians soon became inoperative; and the subsequent agreement about the limitation of naval armaments on the Great Lakes has since become obsolescent as a guarantee against American preponderance.

The one really decisive and lasting naval and military result of the war was the complete British victory over the third unsuccessful American invasion of Canada.

DOCUMENTS

REFERENCES

(1) The Public Archives of Canada, at Ottawa, contain nearly all the original documents, manuscript or photographic copies, and printed versions from which these selections are made.

(2) Every selection from a manuscript is headed by a reference to the class-division, volume, and page.

(3) Except in the case of the one work mentioned below every selection from a printed version is headed by a title sufficient for immediate identification.

(4) The one work excepted is so accessible and well indexed that there is no reason for constantly repeating its exceedingly long title-page. Every selection with the one word *James* may therefore be understood to come from the version printed in the documentary appendix to *A Full and Correct Account of the Chief Naval and Military Occurrences of the late War between Great Britain and the United States of America* by William James. This work consists of two quite separate parts. The *Naval* volume was published in 1817, the two *Military* volumes in 1818.

(5) A special acknowledgment accompanies each selection made from the very few sources which are not to be found in the Public Archives of Canada.

(6) Each document may have three headings. The first and second are editorial and are printed in *italics*. The third is part of the document and always appears in capitals, LARGE or SMALL.

Archives, C. 673, p. 85.

Anonymous spy warns British of secret American designs.

[Endorsement] In Majr.-Genl. Burtons 15th July 1801.

But it is sometimes impossible and often unnecessary to have all three together. The first, or *Reference Heading*, is omitted in the cases mentioned in (4). The second, or *Editorial Title*, is omitted when the document has a sufficient title of its own or when its contents are too miscellaneous for condensed description. The third, or *Documentary Title*, is given as it appears in the original.

(7) All the information usually given in footnotes is to be found either in or through the INDEX.

N.B.—The documents here published have been compared carefully with the original texts, which they reproduce as closely as is possible in print. Errors have been emended, or signalised by editorial insertions in square brackets, only where it seemed that real help could thereby be given the reader.

A.—NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP I

PREPARATION, 1801–1812.—GENERAL

Archives, C. 673, p. 85.

Anonymous Spy Warns British of Secret American Designs.

[Endorsement] In Majr.-Genl. Burtons 15th July 1801.

No. 1.

Copy

Major Generals
Isaac Clerk
Arwin
Jona. Spafford
Ira Allen
} of Vermont

Stephen Thorn
A Major in the French Army lately arrived with French Commissions—

Major Genl. Hull
of Massechusetts
}
Six miles from Barton
} Major Jedidh. Clerk—
of Vermont

Captn. Timothy Hinman

Lake Magog

Silas Harthaway
Doctr. Shaw—
Captn. Hide—

One Rogers has taken the Plans &ca & delivd them over to Harthaway & Allen

Isarel Keath late Adj^{t}. General of Massechusetts lives on the Province line owns Iron works &ca he was Judge Advocate on the trial of the unfortunate Maj^{r}. André as he says Keath has two Brothers who are settled in Upper Canada —have built Iron Works &ca—these Men will make *Pikes* &c for the New England Settlers in that Quarter

Secret Committees are held—and a brisk Correspondance is *now* carried on from one end of the United States to the other and with the Jacobins in Upper & Lower Canada— These Rascals are coming in & going out continually— under the pretext of some other business—but for the express purpose of raising a Rebellion—These facts and some others I know to be true—but it was expressly agreed by his Grace of Portland that my name should never be made known nor call^{d} in Question on Information I should give to Government. These Men are all disaffected towards the Federal Governm^{t}. have but little to lose and their hope is in the Idea of plunder—

A true Copy

Aug Prevost ADC.

Archives, C. 673, p. 103.

From Lieutenant General Bowyer at Halifax to Lieutenant General Hunter at York.

Secret— Halifax July 9th 1804

Sir/

An Extraordinary occurrence took place in March last by the departure of all or most of the Indians, able to carry Arms, from this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island & Cape Breton, leaving their Wives, Children & old Men behind, under the pretence as they said, of going with the Canadian Indians against the Mohawks; The Assembly was, we understand, on the Confines of Lower Canada & the real

or suppos'd cause of it to meet certain French Emissaries or others as ill dispos'd to the British Government; They were absent from their respective Abodes a considerable time, & on their Return gave out that an Expedition was fitting out in France for the conquest of B: N: America & that 20,000 Men, with a suitable Fleet, might be expected in this Country during the present Summer—

I will not even surmise that an Expedition could be prepar'd against any part of the foreign British Dominions without the Ministers at home having Intelligence of it, who, no doubt, would take care of us, but I think it right to communicate to you, that L^t Gen^l. Sir John Wentworth on Friday last receiv'd a letter, by a Special Messenger, from some Federalists & Friends of the British Government residing in the State of Vermont, that very Considerable Depots of Arms were making in that Province, also of Powder &c^a, & that Numbers of Men of all descriptions, were engag'd, & engaging, to act, with the Co-operation of some French Troops expected & of a 1000 or 1200 Indians—

The Letter further States, that the Executive Government of the United States is not unacquainted with what is going on in Vermont & other parts, that there are considerable Numbers of French in New Hampshire ready to assemble at any point they may be directed to go to & that great secrecy is us'd in conveying Arms &c^a into Vermont which is done by Carts & Waggons cover'd with Straw—

The Vermontese, it appears are extremely Jealous of any person leaving the State, & M^r. Clarke who brought the Dispatch to Sir J: Wentworth could not have got away, had he not taken his two Daughters, who are now at Windsor, under the pretence of going to see a Relation at Boston—

The Letter is sign'd by a Col: Sallisbury & a few others living in Vermont—

If there is any foundation for this Intelligence, you or Sir

Rob^{t}. Milnes will probably have had it, but it coming as it has done, I have thought it expedient to forward it to you—

I have the Honor to be,
Sir,
Your Most Obedient
Humble Servant
Hen: Bowyer.

Archives, C. 676, p. 7.

Minutes of the Executive Council of Lower Canada.

Wednesday 22 July 1807

At the Council Chamber in the Castle of S^{t}. Lewis

Present

His Honor the President of the Province in Council

His Honor informed the Board that although another Post had arrived from the United States, he had not received any Intimation from His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary of an hostile Disposition on the part of the American Government or People towards this Province.

His Honor therefore observed to the Board, that, in their present Deliberations they must in a great degree be guided by Colonel Brocks opinion of the Necessity for having immediate recourse to the Extraordinary Measures proposed in his Letter of the 17th Instant for the Defence of Quebec and that He thought it advisable Colonel Brock should be apprized of the Means of Assistance within the reach or at the disposal of the Executive Government, as well as of the Difficulties that may impede the Execution of what he has suggested.

His Honor therefore referred it to the consideration of the Board whether it might not be proper, in the first Instance, to submit to Colonel Brock certain Queries and Information to the following Effect Viz^{t}. That the Means by which assistance can be given by His Majesty's Civil Government

to the Military Department for strengthening the Defences of Quebec in the manner proposed by Colonel Brock, would be by embodying a Proportion of the Militia according to Law, the Men for which Service must be taken from different Parts of the Province. That the Measure of embodying the Militia having only once before been resorted to in this Province, on which occasion a decided Disobedience was generally manifested, it may be expected that Defaulters will again be found, and perhaps Resistance be made, when the Law is to be carried into effect.

Query. Has Colonel Brock the Means, and will he furnish those Means if required, to strengthen the hands of the Civil Government so that no Inconvenience or injury to the Kings Service may hereafter result from not carrying into full Execution a Measure once determined on and ordered.

The Militia when embodied are by Law entitled to receive the same Pay and allowances as the Kings Troops. No Funds for this purpose are at the disposal of the Civil Government, but they have hitherto invariably been provided by the Commander in Chief of the Forces.

The Civil Government is not by Law authorized to constrain the furnishing of Carts or Horses for works as proposed.

Query. Can the Materials necessary for the Works proposed be obtained without Injury to, or encroachment upon private Property.

After Deliberation it was Ordered, that the Clerk of the Council transmit a Copy of the present Minute to Colonel Brock, and inform him that the Council will meet again to morrow at Twelve oClock for the purpose of taking into consideration any Representation in writing which he may judge it proper to make in consequence of this Communication, and also that, if it is convenient to Colonel Brock, the Council request his personal attendance at the above hour.

Certified

H. W. Ryland.

Archives, C. 673, p. 110.

From Viscount Castlereagh, Downing Street, to Sir James Craig at ——.

Secret and Confidential.

Downing Street 7th May 1808

Sir,

I think it right to acquaint you that a Communication has been made to His Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs by Mr Pinckney the Minister of the United States of America at this Court, that he has received Information from Mr. Armstrong at Paris, by which it appears that a Demand made on the Part of the United States, that France should revoke or soften her Decree of Blockade against Great Britain, had been refused by Buonaparte, in consequence whereof he had no Communication to make to the Court of London—

This information undoubtedly diminishes the Probability of any Rupture with the American States, at the same time it is not considered of such a Nature as to warrant the Suspension or Discontinuance of those Measures of Precaution and preparation which you have been instructed to take—

I have the Honor to be,
Sir,
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant
Castlereagh.

Archives, C. 673, p. 116.

From Captain Nicolls at Halifax to Sir George Prevost at ——.

[Endorsement] Copy of a Letter from Captain Nicolls, Comm^e. Royal Engineers at Halifax, dated 30^th June 1808 to His Excellency L^t Gen^l Sir George Prevost Bart: with observations on Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay.

H: M: Schooner Hunter
30^th June 1808.

Sir,

I had the honor to state to you on the 19^th Ins^t. that the Americans were erecting a battery for 4 Guns on Moose Island: I have now further to offer such observations as have occurred to me during my stay in Passamaquoddy Bay

Moose Island is divided into 23 Lots of 100 Acres each; the number of Inhabitants about 1100, there is stationed on it a Captain, Lieutenant, and 40 of the Regular Artillery of the United States with 2, 6 prs, and about the same number of Volunteer Artillery, having 2, 6 prs: also; the quantity of Ammunition I could not learn, but it is not great.

The Militia about 120—

The population of this Island has increased rapidly within these ten Years past, from the facility its situation affords to smuggling. Nature has by no means been lavish of her bounties to it, it produces little corn, no timber of any value, nor has it any superior advantages as to Fishery; the side of the Island on which the town, called East Port is built, with the Channel & Anchorage for Shipping is within the range of Gun shot, from Campo-Bello, Deer, Marvel & Indian Islands—

The battery the Americans are erecting is circular, to mount 4 Guns, 32 or 24 P^rs they are not yet arrived on the Island, its Parapet of Masonry 5 f^t. thick, it is situated

opposite Marvel Island, on an Eminence above the town, and is to be inclosed by a Blockhouse in its Rear, to be flank'd from the Gorge of the Work; the nature of this work points out that it is intended for other objects beside the enforcing of the late Embargo Acts, for which purpose a Gun on each extremity of the Island would be better adapted. On a point to the Northward and lower than the Battery there is a 6 pr: mounted, and another in front of a house occupied as a Barrack by the Artillery, which is about a quarter of a Mile from the Fort, as it is styled by the Americans—of the Artillery there are not above 5 or 6 natives of America, the remainder English, Irish or Scotch.

The ground on Moose Island consisting of a ridge running thro' its center & sloping towards its shores, is favorable for the Troops defending it: the place best adapted for a landing is at the south side of a large Bay, opposite the southern extremity of Deer Island, from which an immediate push should be made for the heights, which command the battery now erecting within reach of Musquetry—

Deer Island contains about 1200 Acres, and from 3 to 400 Inhabitants, mostly Fishermen, their dwellings are small and thinly scattered along its shores. This Island would have been settled long since, could the people wishing to reside thereon have obtained Title deeds from a M^{r}. Farrell to whom it is granted—

Marvel Island is a small headland, which at half Ebb is connected by a stony beach to Indian Island there are 4 families on them whose principal employment is curing Fish—A battery might be erected on either, from which the town of Eastport might be destroyed, and the passage between them & Moose Island commanded—

Casca Island—a tower on the North East end of this Island would command the passage between it & Campobello and between it & Spruce Island; these are the principal entrances to Passamaquoddy Bay—It is not inhabited—

Dudley & Frederick Islands, form one at half ebb, they are situated between the Main land & Moose Island, and are like the latter, claimed by the Americans—

La Tite passage is the entrance to S^{t}. Andrews Bay, it is formed by the Island La Tite, & the main land of New Brunswick and may be commanded by a small Battery on the Island—this passage is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile broad, and like most of those among the Islands, is intricate, owing to the various Currents and Eddies ; A Pilot well acquainted with the Bay is necessary for navigating large Ships—

Campo Bello is by much the finest Island in the Bay, it contains about 8000 Acres, the number of Inhabitants is about 400, the Militia 70 ; but I do not think that much reliance should be placed on the Militia of any of these Islands

Campo Bello like Deer Island, would now have been in a flourishing state, had the Company to whom it belongs, sold the Lands to settlers as they came upon it, but in the situation of North America, it cannot be supposed that people will flock to an Island, where the ground is only let to them for a certain number of Years, which after having cleared & improved, is at the expiration of the time to revert to the Owners—In a military point of view it affords some strong situations, particularly Friars head, which is about 80 f^{t}. high, inaccessible on the two sides next the water, with the remainder sloping gradually towards the Country, it is about 1500 Yds: distant from the West quaddy, which a Battery under its protection would command, it being only 200 Yds: wide at this part ; this passage or West quaddy, as it is called separates Campo Bello from the state of Maine, is nearly 3 Miles long, and a Mile broad at its entrance opposite the Grand Manan : At this entrance the Americans have lately erected a Light house, which shews that they consider it of some consequence, indeed it is quite equal to the small Vessels that in general are in the Bay, as altho' dry at some parts at low water, there is 18 f^{t}. in it at high, at common neap Tides.

On Friars head there should be erected some small work of respectable profile, as it would otherwise be the first place taken possession of by an Enemy, and commands Dudley & Frederick Islands, the part of Moose Island opposite it, with the West quaddy as mentioned above; but its being so near the Enemy, renders it an unfit situation for Magazines, Storehouses &c—But a spot well adapted for a Depot offers itself in a very commanding hill on the side of De Lute Harbour, now in possession of a Family of the name of Matthews; Two blockhouses would occupy it sufficiently for the present, and on its summit there is capacity for erecting a strong Fort, whenever it might be deemed fit; on the ground under its protection there is abundant room for a large town, with every convenience for Wharfs &ca—As this hill lies within the harbour, there should be a Battery at its mouth to command it and the Ship Channel between Campo Bello & Indian Island.

In recommending Block houses as a commencement at the above post; I would not be understood to be partial to that kind of defence, but under the following circumstances I think they may be used to advantage—

When the object to be gained is not considered of sufficient importance to warrant a greater expense—

When the time does not admit of erecting more substantial works—And in a Country not cleared where they answer the double purpose of Blockhouses & Barracks.

From Moose Island, there is a ferry to the Mainland about 250 yds: wide, and the road from thence to Robinstown is about 12 Miles thro' a road of Pine & Birch with a little Maple, passable for a horse in summer, & a sled in Winter—

The Post road from Moose Island, Robinstown, & the American settlement on the Scudiac centers at Lincolnstown at the head of the Copseoak, and proceeds thence to Macchias, it is much of the above description but improves

as you approach that place—From Moose Island to Machias is 35 Miles—

At Point Pleasant, the point in the Mainland opposite Moose Island, there is a Village of Indians, consisting of 21 Wigwams, Francis Joseph, called Neptune, who resides there, has lately been elected Head Chief of the S^{t}. John's, Passamaquoddy & Penobscot Indians, which is extraordinary as they speak different languages: some of their principal men came formally to S^{t}. Andrews about three Months since, and anounced their intention in case of hostilities between Great Britain and America to retire up the country & remain neutral—

At S^{t}. Andrews there are at present detachments of the 101st Reg^{t}. & the New Brunswick Fencibles, the former consisting of 1 Captain, 1 Subaltern, 2 Sergeants, 39 Rank & File, the latter 1 Sub: 1 Serg^{t}: & 4 privates, the annual expense of quarters for those Troops, with a Commissary & Barrack Master's store amounts to £120 the houses occupied by the Troops are bad & inconvenient, and the Officers obliged to be separated from their Men—Altho' I do not consider the reserve at Joes Point as a desirable place for a work of any magnitude, yet I think it would be of more benefit to the Troops as well as a measure of economy to build a Blockhouse there large enough to hold whatever detachments it may be thought proper should be stationed at S^{t}. Andrews—The Militia of the Town and Parish amounts to about 100—

On the 20th ins^{t}. Capt^{n}. Swett the Officer Commanding on Moose Island, the Acting Engineer, Collector of East Port &c went to Robinstown to settle the site of a Fort proposed to be built there, I understand they fixed upon a rising ground above Liberty Point about a Mile lower than Joes point—

From S^{t}. Andrews up to S^{t}. Croix to Oak Point, the Mouth of Oak Bay on which there is a settlement is nine

miles, from thence to the Rapids at the head of the Scudiac 7, and two Miles above is Mill Town, where there are 5 double & one Single Saw Mills. These settlements are very thriving ones, the population of the three is reckoned at 1200, the Militia 250—On the opposite side the Americans have settled but not to half the extent—

I should not think it adviseable to have a Military Post on the Scudiac, as it is a maxim with the American Government whenever we establish one to do the same opposite on their side; it would therefore be only drawing their Military Posts nearer to Frederickton & facilitating their approach to that Capital—which probably would be their first object in the invasion of the Provinces of New Brunswick & Nova Scotia, their route from the Penobscot to the Medactic or Eel River, (I understand there are supplies voted to make a road in that direction—) from thence to Frederickton; of this route L^{t}.-Col: Johnstone of the New Brunswick Fencibles could give your Excellency a correct account as he travelled great part of it last winter—

There are roads along each side of the S^{t}. Croix & Scudiac, but beyond that little more than the paths for bringing Logs from the Woods—

From S^{t}. Andrews to S^{t}. Johns there is a blazed road thro' the woods, the distance 60 Miles—

On the Maguadivic, a River in S^{t}. Andrews Bay, there is a settlement amounting to 300 Souls, the Militia about 70, From Maguadivic to Frederickton there is a blazed road by the head of the Wuamick, it is reckoned about 80 Miles—

In mentioning the Militia I have taken their numbers from the best information I could obtain on the spot; Col: M^{c}Kay who commands the Militia in the District which includes the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay & the Grand Manan, informed me that in all they comprize about 800 Men, 450 to be depended upon—On the 29th a Subaltern, & 12 Men were posted at Dipper harbour about half way

between S^{t}. Andrews & S^{t}. Johns. It is well chosen to prevent desertion, there is a footpath to S^{t}. Johns, 25 Miles and it is about 30 by water.

Having now laid before your Excellency such observations as occurred to me while in Passamaquoddy Bay, I beg to state my opinion that the undue influence obtained by the Americans in the Bay by their having a Battery & Military Force on Moose Island would be counterbalanced by a small work on Friars head, with a force equal to that they have on that Island; but if anything beyond that is intended the Hill on Harbour de Lute,* which by Blockading the 3 entrances to Passamaquoddy Bay, viz^{t}. the West Quaddy, the principal entrance between Campo Bello & Spruce Island, & La Tite Passage would render the American settlements in that Bay, but particularly that of Moose Island of very little importance—

The above are offered merely as steps to be taken under present circumstances, In the event of any hostile Invasion of magnitude on the part of the Americans Passamaquoddy Bay would become a secondary consideration, as by the route to Frederickton mentioned above it would be left so far on the right that little could be expected from it in the interruption or annoyance of the Enemy—

After having said so much of the bottom part of the Bay of Fundy I cannot omit remarking that the Island of Grand Manan is settling fast, population reckoned between 4 & 500, Militia at 60, is healthy & possesses a good harbour for small Vessels, and as from its situation it may be considered as the Key to the Bay of Fundy, I should think it worthy of very serious consideration—

The Wasp, American Sloop of War, is probably now in Passamaquoddy Bay, as her return was expected in a few days after my leaving that place.

* (described above) is the preferable situation. In either case a squadron of small Vessels might rendezvous in the harbour de Lute.

The preceding is respectfully submitted by your Excellency's most

obed^{t} humble Servant
(Signed) Gustavus Nicolls
Capt^{n} Com: Roy: Engineers.

P.S. I was told by M^{r}. Le Dernier the Collector at East Port, that there was 100,000 barrels of Flour on Moose Island, 30,000 brought in in one week, & that there now did not remain above 8, or 10,000. I do not think this is to be depended upon, in the last article I am sure he is incorrect—

Archives, C. 673, p. 131.

From Major MacKenzie at Kingston to Thornton, Military Secretary, at Quebec.

[Endorsement] From Maj^{r}. McKenzie, 41st Reg^{t}. Kingston 22^{d} Aug^{t}. 1808 Inclosing Copy of a Lett^{r} from M^{r}. Sackett Collector of Sackett Harbor to M^{r}. Cartwright Chief Magistrate of the Middld District.

Kingston Augst 22nd 1808.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit herewith for the information of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, the Copy of a letter which I have this moment perused from Mr. Augustus Sacket Chief Magistrate & Collector at Sackets Harbour, addressed to Rich^{d}. Cartwright Esq^{r}. Senior Magistrate of the Midland District.

I shall lose no time in forwarding a Copy of this letter to His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Gore.

I mean to Visit Carleton Island tomorrow & shall use every means in my power to persuade & prevent these Troops making any Rendezvous on that Island.

His Excellency may rely on my discretion, until I receive his Commands on this Head.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most Obt. Servt
H: MacKenzie
Capt. 41st Regt & Major Commg

I have only One Corporal, & three Privates at present on Carleton Isle, but judge it advisable to send One Subaltern, One Sergeant, and Four Privates to reinforce it until further Orders—H. MacKenzie, Capt. 41st Regt & Major Commg.

Archives, C. 673, p. 130.

Enclosure.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Augustus Sacket Chief Magistrate & Collector at Sackets Harbour State of New York addressed to Mr. Cartwright, dated Augst 19th 1808.

Honbl. Richard Cartwright, Respected Sir/

By the Order of the Secretary of War of the United States a small Body of Troops have been Ordered into this District to be Stationed at such place as Commanding Officer and Collector of this Port may direct, acting under the latter Capacity, & being informed that there was no Disposition on the Part of the British Government to retain Carleton Island in the River St. Lawrence: We have deemed Carleton Island the most proper place to be the Station for the United States Troops & should be happy to have the same given up.

If you will be so obliging as to have this request laid before the proper Authority, I will esteem it as a particular favor.

I am Sincerely
Your Obt. Servt
Augustus Sacket.

(a true Copy)

Archives, C. 673, p. 132.

From MacKenzie, 41st, at Kingston to Thornton at Quebec.

Kingston Augst 24th 1808.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit herewith for the perusal of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces the Proceedings of Boards of Survey held at Kingston, Carleton Island, & Point Frederick upon the Stores, Rum, & Barrack Utensils, also that of a Board of Survey on Barrack Stores forwarded by Isaac W: Clarke Esq^{r}. for this Post.

Since my letter of the 22nd Ins^{t}. I have visited Carleton Island where I was informed that many of the Inhabitants on the American Shore, had an Idea, that two Armed Boats were to rendezvous at that Island for the purpose of preventing their People carrying off the Produce of the United States such as Potash &^{c}. &^{c}.

I have taken the liberty of having Lieu^{t}. Chambers One Sergeant & four Privates there to reinforce that Post which formerly consisted of One Corporal & Three Privates of the 41st Regiment, which I hope may meet with the approbation of His Excellency Sir James Craig

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most Ob^{t} Serv^{t}
H: MacKenzie
Cap^{t} 41st Reg^{t} & Major Comm^{g}

Archives, C. 673, p. 137.

From MacKenzie at Kingston to Thornton at Quebec.

Kingston Augst 28th 1808

Sir/

I have the Honor to transmit herewith for the perusal of His Excellency Sir James Craig a letter I received yesterday from Lieu^{t}. Cross Comm^{g}. a Detach^{t}. of Troops in the

American Service, in regard to Carleton Island, with my answer to him on this Subject, Copies of which I have sent by Express to His Excellency Lieu^{t}. Governor Gore.

I have the honor to be
Sir/
Your most Ob^{t} Serv^{t}
H: MacKenzie
Cap^{t} 41st Reg^{t} & Major
Comm^{g}

Archives, C. 673, p. 133.

Enclosure. From Lieutenant Cross at Sackett's Harbor to MacKenzie at Kingston.

Encampment, Sackets Harbor,
Aug. 22^{d}, 1808.

Sir,

I have the honor to state that I am under orders to take post with my detachment at such point on this frontier as shall enable me best to support the duties and Laws pertaining to the office of Collector of the Revenue in this District.

On consulting with Augustus Sacket, Esq. the present Collector and carefully perusing a Map of this country no place appears so eligible as Carlton Island for the purport of my orders—It has been stated to me that Carlton Island is at present occupied by a detachment of his Britannick Majesty's troops—If so I will thank you, Sir, to point out to me the course to be pursued and to whom I should address myself to obtain possession amicably and with reciprocal convenience and friendly understanding—Carlton Island being on the S. side of the S. channel of the river St. Lawrence no doubt can arise that by the treaty of Paris of '83 and that of London of '93 existing between our respective nations Carlton Island belongs to the United States—It is not however intended by me to discuss as a matter of claim what I presume you or the proper authority of your country will

cheerfully concede as a right—more especially as I am informed by respectable individuals from your side the Ontario that the few British troops which have remained on Carlton Island were merely to take care of the works and Barracks—

I beg you will please to take an early opportunity to inform me if it is practicable to obtain possession of Carlton Island without interrupting the germ of harmony that appears to be obtaining between G. Britain & the U. States and if so I shall feel obliged if you will please to point out to me the appropriate manner of application and to whom I should direct it.

I am, Sir,
with wishes for the amity of
G. Britain & the U. States
very respectfully
Your Most Obedient Servant
J. Cross 1st Lieut. U.S. Artillery
Commanding

Archives, C. 673, p. 136.

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] Copy Letter from Bt. Majr McKenzie 41st Regt. to Lt. Cross U States Artillery

Kingston Augst 27th 1808

Sir/

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd Inst. in regard to Carleton Island.

My orders are to retain that Place, which I shall implicitly observe; The proper Channel of Application towards obtaining possession of that Island would I conceive be from your Government to Sir James Craig Captain General, & Commander in Chief of British North America, to whom, as well as to Lieut. Govr. Gore I have transmitted your letter on this subject

I should very much regret any occurrence that might interrupt the Harmony & good Understanding which appears to be in a fair way of taking place between the United States & Great Britain.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most Obt. Servt.
H: MacKenzie
Capt. 41st. Regt. & Major
Commg.

Archives, C. 673, p. 138.

From Lieutenant Governor Francis Gore at York to Craig at ——.

York, 28th August 1808.

Sir,

Major McKenzie Commanding at Kingston, having reported to your Excellency, the very Extraordinary request, made to a Private Gentleman, by the Collector of Sackets Harbour, for the occupation of Carlton Island.—

Until' your Excellencys Instructions can be received, I have only directed Major McKenzie, to cause it to be communicated, through the same Channel to the Collector;— that Carlton Island being in the possession of His Majestys Forces, he cannot permit it, to be occupied, by the Armed Force of any other Nation, unless he receives directions to do so.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient
and most Humble Servant
Francis Gore.
Lt Governor.

Archives, C. 673, p. 147.

From Gore at York to Craig at ——.

York, Upper Canada, 14th November 1808

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency, the inclosed letters and Affidavits which I received yesterday, from Major McKenzie, and Mr. Cartwright of Kingston a Gentleman of high respectability and one of the Legislative Council of this Province.

As to the Smuggling, I am afraid there has been very unwarrantable conduct on both sides. I should be sorry that any discussion should take place at this time, between us and the Americans respecting Boundaries—and I cannot help thinking (as far as my information goes—) that it is hardly worth while for us to interfere.

From recent events, I cannot allow myself to suppose, that it is in the contemplation of the American Government to go to War with Great Britain—though the Building of the Gun Brig of the force mentioned appears very inexplicable on any other Principle—the supporting of their Embargo does not require such a Force, nor is a Vessel of such dimensions fitted for that Service.

Whether the intelligence which I have now the honor to submit to your Excellency, be of sufficient weight and importance, to change the Station of the Troops in this Province, I must also submit to your consideration.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your Excellencys
Most Obedient
and most humble Servant
Francis Gore
Lt Governor.

Archives, C. 673, p. 142.

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] NOVEM^R^. 3^D^. 1808 EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR MACKENZIE COMMANDING AT KINGSTON TO WILLIAM HALTON ESQ SECRETARY TO THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Extract

Copy

Kingston, November 3^rd^ 1808.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose for the perusal of His Excellency, The Lieutenant Governor, a letter I received from M^r^. Cartwright, yesterday two Depositions, have been taken before Him of Aggressions, on the part of The American Collector of Sacket's Harbour towards one of His Majesty's Subjects within the Limits of the King's Territory.

M^r^. Cartwright intends writing His Excellency stating his Reasons for apprehending, that something more, than puting in force the Embargo, causes at this late Season of the Year, when most of the Produce has been exported, so great a number of Regular Troops, to be assembled on the American Frontier.

The idea of the Vessel now building at Oswego, which is to carry 18 Guns, with a 24 Pounder in the Bow, instead of employing armed Boats, for the purpose of preventing smuggling appears to me so ridiculous in itself that it requires no great foresight to see through the Object of these intentions.

May I request you to have the goodness to mention to The Lieut^t^. Governor, the very small Garrison I have at present here with the responsibility attach'd to it. I humbly conceive there ought to be one Serjeant and twelve Privates at least, stationed at Point Frederick, where His Majesty's stores are situated, and the Kings Vessels Winter, where at present there is only a Guard of one Corporal and three Privates (one Sentry) which is all I can spare from the few Men I have at this Post; The Stores are some way detach'd from

one another, and might be set on fire, by a few determined Incendiaries some dark night!

May I also beg leave to remark, That The Duke of Kent's being moored out during the Winter, as she was last year, can in my Opinion serve no end, as to the security of the Stores and Shipping, so long as there may be a probability of Point Clarence being occupied by The Americans, which it is natural they will attempt to take possession of, in the Event of a War with them.

The general Opinion of the better informed and respectable Settlers on the American Frontier in our Neighbourhood, is I believe from good authority, that the Person at the Head of The American Government is much inclined to make or have some plea to bring on a Rupture with Great Britain— I have hitherto, not given much into this opinion, but later events wear such a complexion, as almost do away, my former Ideas on the Subject, whether we are to have Peace or War.

I have transmitted a Copy of M^r^ Cartwright's letter to Me of yesterday, for the perusal of His Excellency the Commander of The Forces!

(signed) H. MacKenzie,
Cap^t^ 41^st^ Reg^t^ & Major
Comm^g^.

A true Extract
W^m^. Halton.
Secretary.

Archives, C. 673, p. 140.

Enclosure. From Mr. Cartwright at Kingston to MacKenzie at ——.

Copy

Kingston 2^nd^ November 1808.

Sir,

Some movements of Troops and other transactions are taking place on the American Frontier along the shores of the S^t^. Lawrence and Lake Ontario that ought not to escape observation—

Within a few weeks more than two hundred Regular Troops have been stationed between Great Sodus, about 20 miles to the Westward of Oswego and Ogdensburg, the scite of the old Fort of Oswegatchie at the Head of the Rapids. At this latter place there are two full companies and other Troops are stated to be actually on their march to augment these several Detachments to a thousand men. Colonel Simmons who is to command these Troops is said to have declared publickly, that they would be increased to two thousand before the Spring. He is an officer high in the confidence of the American Government and is now actually examining the Banks of the S^{t}. Lawrence for the most proper Military Stations.

The ostensible object of all this, is more effectually to enforce the Embargo ; But the Vessel building at Oswegatchie is to carry eighteen Guns besides a twenty four Pounder in the Bow is much less adapted to this service than armed Boats would be ; and it is now known that there were on Board the small schooner which put in here a few days ago under pretence of being driven in by stress of Weather, two officers of the American Navy for the express purpose of examining the different Entrances to this Port. She came through the Passage at the Head of Isle Tinti or Amherst Island, and anchored after a day or two in that neighbourhood.

These particulars have been collected from some of the most intelligent and respectable Persons among the american settlers in our neighbourhood, who appear also to regard them as having Reference to other views besides enforcing the Embargo, and at all events they appear to merit the notice of the Commander in Chief.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your very obed^{t}. Servant
(signed) Richard Cartwright.
A true Copy
W^{m}. Halton
Secretary.

Archives, C. 673, p. 145.

Enclosure. From Cartwright at Kingston to Gore at ——.

Copy

Kingston 5th Novemr 1808.

Sir/

I herewith transmit to your Excellency two Depositions relating to a flagrant Infraction of our Territorial Rights by a Revenue Officer of the United States; in seizing a Boat belonging to one of His Majesty's Subjects, peacably navigating within what we have always considered as the Limits of this Province—

That your Excellency may however have the whole of the Case fully before you, I think it necessary to state, that this Boat has been frequently employed during the Summer in going to different Points of the American Shore, and clandestinely carrying away Pot Ash and other articles in contravention of their Embargo Law, and on one occasion, while so employed, was actually fired at and on the point of being taken; and that when now seized, she was going to take on board some Pot Ash that had been brought from Sackets Harbor and landed on Wolf Island. I have also to observe that the terms of the Treaty by which the Boundary between Canada and the United States is defined, is very Vague; and as no steps have been taken to settle what shall be deemed *the middle of the water Communication*, there are Persons in the United States who roundly assert, that not only that part of the River St. Lawrence that runs between Wolf Island and the American Shore, but even Wolf Island itself is within their Jurisdiction—And tho' the Extravagance of such Pretension must be apparent whenever the subject should come under Discussion; yet it will probably be used as a Subterfuge for the Collector's conduct.

A few days ago I stated to Major Mackenzie several circumstances that have and are taking place along the American Frontier in our Neighbourhood, that appear to merit the

attention of Government—He will doubtless communicate my letter to your Excellency, to whom I should have addressed myself on the subject in the first Instance, had not the mode I adopted been the most expeditious for bringing it under the notice of the Commander in Chief.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your Excellency's
Most faithful & Obed^{t} Servant
(signd) Richard Cartwright.

P.S. The Colonel mentioned in the Depositions as being in the Boat with the Collector, is Colonel Simmons, then on his way to Oswegatchie.

(signd) R. C.

A true Copy
Wm. Halton
Secretary

Archives, C. 673, p. 149

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] Deposition of Andrew Denyke

(Copy)

Midland District }
Upper Canada Ls. }

Personally appeared before me Richard Cartwright Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said District, Andrew Denyke of the Town of Kingston in the said District Boatman, who maketh oath, and sayeth, That on Monday evening as he was proceeding with his Boat along the South Eastern shore of Wolf Island, and not more than thirty yards from the shore, he was boarded by Lieutenant Bebie, who examined his Boat and finding Nothing on Board, treated him civilly and went away—That in about fifteen minutes after, he was hailed by another Boat, in which

was Mr. Hart Massey, Collector of Sackets Harbour, with a party of Soldiers, the same Lieutenant who had boarded him before, and a Colonel of the American Army, and desired to come to; that this Deponent refused; whereupon the said Massey told him to come along-side or they were all dead men and ordered the Soldiers to take up their Arms, which they did; but did not fire. This Deponent then ran his Boat on Shore; told Massey that he was in the King's Territory and that they had no Right to meddle with him. Massey replied that he would risque that; and came on board with a party of Soldiers and took possession of the Boat, telling this Deponent he might take his Baggage and he should be landed on any shore he pleased, but that he would keep the Boat; That this Deponent replied, that he would not quit his Boat, whereupon the said Massey put four men into the Boat directing them to take her to Mr. Spinnings, his Deputy —That not being able to reach Spinnings, the Boat was put on shore about three miles further down the River at a Captain Hubbard's where the party bespoke their Supper, and while this was getting ready, the Deponent seized a favourable opportunity, got on Board his Boat, cut her Cable and made his Escape, bringing away a man who had been left on Board to Guard his Boat, and who was asleep. His son was with him to assist in Navigating the Boat and was left behind at Captain Hubbard's when this Deponent escaped with his Boat; and further this Deponent sayeth not—The Monday mentioned above is Monday the thirty first Day of October last.

Sworn before me at Kingston aforesaid the 3rd Day of November 1808.
(signd) Richard Cartwright C.P

(Signd) his
And[w] X Denyke
Mark

A true Copy
Wm. Halton,
Secretary

Archives, C. 673, p. 151.

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] Deposition of John Fuston.

(Copy)

Midland District . . . . . } Ls.
Province of Upper Canada }

Personally appeared before me Richard Cartwright Esquire one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said District John Fuston, of the Town of le Ray, in the County of Jefferson, State of New-York, who being sworn deposeth, that on Monday the thirty first Day of October last, as this Deponent and seven others were navigating a Boat in the S^{t}. Lawrence, near the South eastern Shore of Wolf Island loaded with Pot Ash on their Way to Kingston, they were pursued by the Revenue Cutter belonging to Sackets Harbour and ran their Boat on Shore upon Wolf Island where she and her Cargoe were made Prize of by Hart Massey Collector of Sackets Harbour, who had with him a Colonel of the American Army and a Lieutenant of the Name of Bebie and a Party of Soldiers, the Name of the Colonel this Deponent did not know. that at this time a large Boat was coming up close under the Shore of Wolf Island, which the said Massey ordered Lieutenant Bebie to go in the Cutter and examine; which he did and returned; The other Boat mean Time continued her Rout and came up to where the Revenue Cutter was with her Prize, and passed close along her Stern that hereupon the said Massey called out for her to round to: that the Person navigating her, whom this Deponent heard called Denyke refused so to do; whereupon Massey said they were all dead men if they did not, and ordered the Soldiers to take up their Arms; that on this the Master of the Boat ran her on Shore telling

Massey that he considered himself as Navigating within the King's Territory and that he had no right to molest him. Massey replied that was to be tried hereafter, and he would risque it; and took Possession of the Boat, telling the Master that he, his Passengers and Baggage should be landed on any Shore he pleased; that the Master replied he would not quit his Boat; that Massey then directed this Deponent and three others to take Charge of the Boat and navigate her to Mr. Spinning's his Deputy's and they should be paid for their Time and Expences.—On their Way to Mr. Spinning's they were driven about three Miles further down the River to a Captain Hubbards, where leaving one Man in the Boat, this Deponent and the two others landed, and while they were preparing to get their Suppers, the Master of the Boat contrived to get on Board and make his Escape.—That they, together with a young Man whom he understood to be Son of the Master of the Boat, went in the morning to Mr. Spinnings and informed him of these Circumstances; that this Deponent, having his Baggage on Board the Boat, came to Kingston to look after it, and the Young Man wished to come with him; but Mr. Spinning detained him, and said he must remain there till Massey's return from Oswegatchie. —And further this Deponent sayeth not.

(Signed) John Fuston.

Sworn before me at
Kingston aforesaid the
3rd Day of November 1808.
(Signed) Richard Cartwright, C.P.

A true Copy
W. Halton
Secretary.

PROVINCIAL STATUTES OF LOWER CANADA

Quebec 1811

Cap. IX.

AN ACT to continue for a limited time, an Act passed in the forty-third year of His Majesty's reign, intituled: "*An Act for the better regulation of the Militia of this* "*Province, and for repealing certain Acts or Ordinances* "*therein mentioned.*"

(21st March, 1811)

Whereas an Act was passed by the Legislature of this Province, in the forty-third year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled: "*An Act for the better regulation of the Militia of* "*this Province, and for repealing certain Acts or Ordinances* "*therein mentioned,*" which said Act was continued until the first day of July one thousand eight hundred and ten, by another act passed in the forty eight year of His Majesty's reign, intituled, "*An Act to continue for a limited time, an Act* "*passed in the forty third year of his Majesty's reign, intituled:* "*An Act for the better regulation of the militia of this Province,* "*and for repealing of certain Acts or Ordinances therein men-* "*tioned.*" And whereas the term fixed for the duration of the said Act, to the first day of the month of July, of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ten, is expired; except, inasmuch as it was provided by the said Act, that if at the expiration of the term so fixed, the Province was in a state of War, Invasion, or Insurrection, the said Act should continue in force, until the end of such War, invasion, or insurrection. And Whereas, great inconveniences may result to this Province, in the possible case, that the unexpected news of a Peace, might arrive at the very moment we shall be under the necessity of preparing to repel an expected attack, from another quarter, if a further term for the duration of the said Act is not fixed. Be it therefore enacted, by the King's

Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, and Assembly of the Province of Lower Canada constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled: "An Act to repeal certain parts of an "Act passed in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's Reign," intituled: "*An Act for making more effectual provision for* "*the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America:* "*and to make further provision for the Government of the said* "*Province*," and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that the said Act, intituled: "*An Act for the better* "*regulation of the Militia of this Province, and for repealing* "*certain Acts or Ordinances therein mentioned*," and all matters and things therein contained, shall continue to be in force, until the first day of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen. Provided always, that if at the end of the term hereinbefore fixed for the duration of the said Act, the Province was in a state of War, insurrection, or invasion, the said Act shall continue to be in force until the end of the said war, insurrection, or invasion.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this Act, and the Act hereby continued, may be altered, amended, or repealed, at any time, during the present Session of the Provincial Parliament.

Archives, Q. 114, p. 63.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CRAIG TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, DATED QUEBEC, 29 MARCH, 1811.

"My motives for wishing that all hostilities on the part of the Indians towards the Americans may be discouraged, are sufficiently detailed in my letter to Gov^r. Gore, and it does not appear to me to be necessary that I should enlarge on the subject to Your Lordship.[1] This is the first direct

[1] Enclosed were copies of a correspondence between Gore and Craig relating to the probability of war between the Indians and the United States.

communication that I have had either from Lieut. Governor Gore, or from any officer of the Indian Department, relative to the intentions of the Indians. My private accounts, however, which tho' not official, were equally to be relied on, gave me assurances of their determination to have recourse to Arms, so long ago as in November, and in my wish to assist in saving the American Frontier from the horrors usually attending the first burst of an Indian War, by enabling them to take precautions against it, I communicated my accounts to M^r^. Morier, and tho' I thought, that an official communication might be extremely objectionable, I gave him however permission, if he did not think it improper from any circumstance of situation, in which he might find himself with them, verbally to convey the information to the American Government, and I have since heard from M^r^. Morier that he did so. . . . Should hostilities take place, it will be indispensably necessary to reinforce the Upper Country, which can be little spared from the Troops in the Lower Province."

Archives, C. 1168, p. 2.

Head Quarters, Halifax 17^th^ August 1811.

General Orders.

His Royal Highness The Prince Regent, in the Name and Behalf of His Majesty, has been graciously pleased to appoint Lieu^t^ General Sir George Prevost Bar^t^ to the Command of the Forces in the North American Province, and to the Civil Administration thereof as exercised by General Sir James Craig, and it is therefore His Excellency's intention to Embark on Monday Morning on Board His Majesty's Ship Melampus for the purpose of proceeding to Quebec.

Major General Hunter will be pleased to repair to this Station for the purpose of assuming the Command of the Forces in Nova Scotia and its Dependencies, and on the arrival of that Officer, Major General Balfour will proceed to

Frederickton, where he will take upon himself the Command of the Province of New Brunswick.

On assuming the Military Command in British North America Lieu[t] General Sir George Prevost deems it proper to signify to the General Officers on that Staff His Expectation, that they will preserve undiminished in the Forces under their respective and immediate Superintendance, that Regularity and Attention to Discipline which is the Peculiar Characteristick distinguishing British Soldiers; and moreover that they will animate all Ranks and descriptions of Persons under their Command with an ardent desire to encrease the Lustre of the British Arms, by the most exemplary Conduct when Sedentary in Quarters, and by Valour, Vigilance and Activity when called upon to take the Field.—

The Commander of the Forces has been pleased to appoint Ensign Noah Freer of the Nova Scotia Regiment of Fencibles to be His Military Secretary.—The Deputy Judge Advocate to the Forces in British North America will avail himself of the earliest Opportunity of proceeding to Quebec, where he will be Stationed until further Orders.—

(Signed) A. Pilkington
D.A.G.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 4.

Adjutant Generals Office
Quebec 14[th] September 1811.

General Orders

His Excellency Lieu[t]. General Sir George Prevost Bar[t] Governor in Chief and Commander of all His Majesty's Forces in British North America announces his arrival at Quebec and that He has taken upon himself the Chief Command.

Major General Brock is directed to proceed immediately to York in Upper Canada, and to take upon himself the Command of the Troops Stationed in that Province, together with the Civil Administration of the same upon the Departure of

His Excellency Lieu^{t}. Governor Gore ; who has received the permission of His Royal Highness The Prince Regent to return to England upon his Private Affairs.

Colonel Vincent, 49th Regiment will assume the Command of the Garrison and District of Montreal upon the departure of Major General Brock.

(Signed)
Edw^{d}. Baynes
Adj^{t} Gen^{l}. N.A.

Archives, C. 78, p. 40.

From Major General Isaac Brock at Montreal to Prevost at ——.

Montreal September 17th 1811

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter enclosing an additional instruction from His Royal Highness The Prince Regent to enable me to succeed to the civil administration of the Upper Province, upon L^{t} Governor Gore's availing himself of the leave of absence transmitted to him.

His Excellency, who is now here, intends to set off for York early on thursday, and I propose accompanying him— He will return immediately, and proceed to England by the first favorable opportunity—

Your Excellency will allow me respectfully to congratulate you upon your safe arrival in this Country, and to entreat Your Excellency to believe that no exertions of mine shall be wanting in the performance of my several duties to deserve your good opinion—

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's,
Most Obedient and
Humble Servant
Isaac Brock
M. Gen^{l}.

Archives, U.C. State Papers, P. no. 65.

Province of UPPER CANADA.

PROCLAMATION.

Isaac Brock, President.

George the Third by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith:

To all whom it may concern

Greeting:

Whereas Francis Gore, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of this Province, having solicited and obtained Our Leave to be absent on his Private Affairs, and the Administration of the Government during his absence having devolved on Isaac Brock, Esquire, Major General Commanding the Forces within the said Province, We have thought proper, by and with the advice of Our Executive Council to issue this Proclamation that all Persons having due Notice thereof may Govern themselves accordingly.

In Testimony whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Our said Province to be hereunto affixed: Witness Our trusty and well beloved Isaac Brock, Esquire, Our President Administering the Government of Our said Province of Upper Canada, at York, this Ninth day of October, in the year of Our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and Eleven, and fifty first of Our Reign.

I. B.

Wm. Jarvis Secy.

Archives, C. 676, p. 92.

From Brock at York to Prevost at ——.

York U. C.
February 25th 1812

Sir,

I cannot permit Colonel McDonell to go hence without giving Your Excellency a short account of our proceedings here—I had every reason to expect the almost unanimous support of the two branches of the Legislature to every measure Government thought necessary to recommend; but after a short trial found myself egregiously mistaken in my calculations

The many doubtful characters in the Militia made me very anxious to introduce the oath of abjuration into the bill—There were twenty members in the House when this highly important measure was lost by the casting voice of the Chairman—The great influence which the vast number of settlers from the United States possess over the decisions of the Lower House, is truly alarming, and ought by every practical means to be diminished. To give encouragement to real subjects to settle in this Province can alone remove the evil. The consideration of the Fees ought not to stand in the way of such a politic arrangement—And should Your Excellency ultimately determine to promise some of the waste land of the Crown to such Scotch emigrants as inlist in the Glengarry Regiment I have no hesitation in recommending in the strongest manner, the raising of a Canadian Corps upon similar offers to be hereafter disbanded and distributed among their countrymen in the vicinity of Amherstburg—

Colonel McDonell being in full possession of my sentiments on this subject, I beg leave to refer Your Excellency to him for further information.

The Bill for the suspension of the Habias Corpus, I regret

to say, was likewise lost by a very trifling majority. A strong sentiment now prevails that war is not likely to occur with the United States, which, I believe, tended to influence the votes of the members I mean of such, who, tho' honest, are, by their ignorance, easily betrayed into error.

The low ebb of their finances appears to stagger the most desperate democrats in the States, and may possibly delay the Commencement of direct hostilities—But should France and England continue the contest much longer it appears to me absolutely impossible for the United States to avoid making this election, and the unfriendly disposition they have for some years past evinced against England leaves little doubt as to their choice—Your Excellency, I am sensible, will excuse the freedom with which I deliver my sentiments.

Every day hostilities are retarded the greater the difficulties we shall have to encounter—The Americans are at this moment busily employed in raising Six Companies of Rangers for the express purpose of overawing the Indians, and are besides collecting a regular force at Vincennes probably with the view of re-inforcing Detroit, indeed report states the arrival of a large force at Fort Wane intended for the former Garrison—Their intrigues among the different tribes are carried on openly and with the utmost activity, and as no expense is spared, it may reasonably be supposed that they do not fail of success. Divisions are thus uninterruptedly sowed among our Indian friends, and the minds of many estranged from our interests—Such must inevitably be the consequence of our present inert and neutral proceedings in regard to them—It ill becomes me to determine how long true policy requires that the restrictions now imposed upon the Indian department ought to continue. But this I will venture to assert that each day the Officers are restrained from interfering in the concerns of the Indians—each time they advise peace, and withhold the accustomed supply of

ammunition, their influence will diminish, till at length they lose it altogether—It then will become a question whether that Country can be maintained—I find that ever since the departure of Priest Burk from Sandwich the 50£ p. annum paid from the Military Chest[1] to that Gentleman has been withheld—on what account I have not been able to ascertain—The person now in office is highly spoken of, and as several gentlemen of the Catholic persuation have applied to me to intercede with Your Excellency to renew the allowance, I presume to submit the case to your indulgent consideration—

I have the honor to be
with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's
most faithful and
Obedient Servant
Isaac Brock.
M. G.

PROVINCIAL STATUTES OF UPPER CANADA

York 1812

Chap. I.

An Act to prevent Desertion from his Majesty's Regular Forces, by granting a Bounty for Apprehending Deserters in this Province.

[Passed 6th March, 1812.]

Whereas from the local situation of this Province, some further provision than the general Laws of the Empire afford, is necessary for the encouragement of persons who apprehend Deserters; Be it therefore enacted by the King's Preamble.

[*In different hand.*] [1] Civil Chest of Lower Canada.

most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled, "An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, in North America, and to make further provision for the government of the said Province," and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this Act, any person or persons not being in his Majesty's Regular Forces in this Province, who shall apprehend any Deserter or Deserters from such Regular Forces, and deliver up such Deserter or Deserters to any Officer commanding any military post in this Province, shall for each and every such Deserter or Deserters, so apprehended and delivered up, be entitled to, and shall receive in the manner hereinafter directed, a reward of Five Pounds, current money of this Province, upon producing a certificate of such apprehension and delivery, specifying the name or names of such Deserter or Deserters, and to what regiment or corps he or they belong, as may appear by confession or otherwise, signed by the officer so commanding, and by any Justice of the Peace for the district before whom such Deserter or Deserters shall be brought, which certificate such Officer and Justice of the Peace are hereby authorized and required to grant; Provided nevertheless, That when any Deserter or Deserters shall be so apprehended in any district of this Province, in which there may be no military post at the time, it shall and may be lawful for any Justice of the Peace before whom any Deserter or Deserters may be brought, and he is hereby required to commit by warrant under his hand and seal, every such Deserter or Deserters, to the common Gaol of the District wherein he or they may be apprehended, to be therein kept

Any person not being in his Majesty's regular Forces, who shall apprehend and deliver up any Deserter therefrom, shall be entitled to a reward of £.5. upon producing a certificate of such apprehension & delivery.

By whom certificate to be signed and what it shall state.

How if no Military post within the District in which Deserter shall be apprehended.

in safe custody, until demanded by and delivered up to any officer or detachment of his Majesty's Forces demanding such Deserter or Deserters, then, and in that case, the certificate of such Justice of the Peace, countersigned by the Keeper of such Gaol, acknowledging the receipt of such Deserter or Deserters, into his custody, shall be deemed sufficient.

II. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That when any person or persons who may have apprehended any Deserter or Deserters, may require further assistance for the safe keeping and conveying such Deserter or Deserters to the nearest military post or common gaol, such person or persons shall have authority to call upon as many of the inhabitants (not being Quakers, Menonists or Tunkers) as may be required for that purpose, and no more. And each and every person so employed, shall be entitled to receive and demand six-pence per mile for every mile he shall go and return upon such service, to be ascertained if required, by the oath of such person, and the said sum of six-pence per mile, shall be paid under the like certificate, as the aforesaid reward of five pounds is herein directed to be paid.

Persons having apprehended deserters may command assistance for their safe keeping &c.

Allowance to persons so employed.

III. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That every person not being a Quaker, Menonist or Tunker, who may be required to attend upon such service, and shall refuse so to do, upon due proof being made upon oath, of one credible witness, before any Justice of the Peace, shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings for every such offence, to be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels, and in case of no sufficient distress being found, it shall and may be lawful for such Justice of the Peace, by warrant under his hand and seal, to commit every such offender to the common gaol of the District wherein the same shall happen, for a space of time not exceeding one calendar month, and the said sum of twenty shillings so

Penalty for refusing to assist.

How recovered and applied.

levied as aforesaid, shall be paid into the hands of the Receiver General of this Province, for the support of the Civil Government thereof, to be accounted for by him to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, in such manner and form as his Majesty, his heirs and successors may be pleased to direct.

How reward to be paid.

IV. And in order to enable any person or persons entitled thereto, to receive the reward before mentioned, with as much facility and as little expence as circumstances will admit; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any public officer in the District where such Deserter shall be apprehended, holding public monies levied under the authority of any Act of the Provincial Parliament of this Province, is hereby authorized and required to pay the reward before mentioned out of any such monies in his hands, and the certificate aforesaid, together with a receipt for the sum of the person or persons receiving such reward, certified by two witnesses, shall be received and taken by the Receiver General of this Province, in discharge of so much of the account of such public officer as shall pay the same; and all money paid in manner aforesaid out of any fund by law appropriated, shall be replaced to such fund out of any unappropriated money remaining in the hands of the said Receiver General.

Continuance of this Act.

V. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, that this Act shall be in force during the present war, and from thence to the end of the then next Session of the Provincial Parliament, and no longer.

VI. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That all monies paid or replaced in pursuance of this Act by his Majesty's Receiver General, shall be accounted for by him to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, in such manner and form as his Majesty, his heirs and successors may be pleased to direct.

Chap. III.

An Act to extend the Provisions of an Act passed in the forty-eighth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act to Explain, Amend and Reduce to one Act of Parliament the several Laws now in being for the Raising and Training the Militia of this Province."

[Passed 6th March, 1812.]

Whereas an Act passed in the forty-eighth year of his present Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act to explain, amend and reduce to one Act of Parliament the several laws now in being, for the raising and training the Militia of this Province," is found insufficient for the purposes thereby intended; Be it therefore enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of, and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled, "An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, in North America, and to make further provision for the government of the said Province," and by the authority of the same; That there shall be to every battalion of Militia now or hereafter to be formed in this Province, (the strength of which will admit thereof) two flank Companies, to consist of not more than one hundred men each, nor in any case to compose more than one third of the strength of such battalion, and also all Independent Companies belonging to any County, Riding or Place, shall provide their quota, to compose one or more flank Company or Companies, but in no case to exceed one third of such Independent Company or Companies, to be selected and formed from among such Militia men, as shall at any meeting

Preamble.

Two flank Companies o not more than 100 men each to every battalion, but not to compose more than one third of the strength of the battalion.

Independent companies shall provide their quota.

How such flank companies shall be formed.

or meetings of any such Battalion or Independent Companies, volunteer for that purpose. And if it should so happen that a sufficient number of persons shall not at any such meeting or meetings, volunteer for the purpose aforesaid, then and in such case the deficiency shall be made up by ballot from the Militia men of such Battalion, or Independant Company or Companies, who shall be under the age of forty years.

How when two or more shall be called upon from one family.

II. *Provided always nevertheless*, That when it shall happen that two or more persons shall be called upon service from one family, that one of them shall be excused for that time, unless it shall appear to the Officer Commanding such Company of Militia, that there is another person living in the same house, capable of taking care of the said family, who is not then called into actual service; and also that when a widow or aged person, shall at the time of making the said ballot, depend for her, or his maintenance on a Son, Grandson or Apprentice, such Son, Grandson or Apprentice, shall be excused from service, while supporting such widow or aged person.

III. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That when any such flank Company shall be formed, it shall and may be lawful for the Captain or Officer Commanding the same, to call out such Company, and he is hereby required so to do, six days in each Month, for the purpose of being trained and exercised, as may be directed by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government, and such Company shall continue its training not exceeding the said six days in every Month, until it is found that the men composing the same, are duly instructed in their exercise. *Provided always*, that the Officer Commanding such Company shall always after the said Company shall be pronounced duly instructed, have it in his power to call out such Company one day in each Month to be exercised and reviewed, and oftener if he shall be so directed by the Gover-

Captain to call out his company six days in each month, and the company shall continue its training six days in every month till found duly instructed.

How after it shall be pronounced duly instructed.

nor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government. *Provided also*, that such flank Company or Companies being called out for the purpose of training, it shall not be lawful for any Field Officer, except such as may be specially appointed for that purpose, by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government, to command, or otherwise interfere in the said training or exercising.

No field Officer, except such as shall be specially appointed, shall command or otherwise interfere with the training or exercising of the said companies.

IV. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government, from time to time, as occasion may require, to appoint such and so many Staff Officers to the Militia of this Province, as he may think necessary, and also from time to time to remove any Militia Officer, now or hereafter to be appointed, and appoint another in his stead.

Governor, &c. may appoint staff officers to the Militia.

V. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government, as often as occasion shall require, to order any and every of the said Companies, to march to any part of this Province, upon any such duty as he shall think necessary.

Governor may order the said flank companies upon any such duty as he may think necessary.

VI. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful for the Captain, or other Officer commanding any Company of Militia, if he shall think necessary, to divide his Company into squads of such number as to him shall seem proper, and the convenience of the men of such Company shall require, and that the Captain, or other Officer commanding any such Company, as aforesaid, shall always appoint some fit and proper person to exercise and instruct in Military discipline, the men to be assembled at each of the said squad meetings and that if any non-Commissioned Officer or Private shall refuse to obey the lawful orders of his superior Officer when employed on Militia duty, or shall quarrel with, or insult by abusive words, or

Captain to divide companies into squads—and shall appoint proper persons to instruct in military discipline, the men to be assembled at such squad meetings.

Penalty for insulting or disobeying superior officer.

otherwise, any Officer or non-Commissioned Officer, being in the execution of his duty, or otherwise misbehave himself whilst on duty as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Commanding Officer then and there present, to order every such offender or offenders to be taken into custody, and forthwith tried by a Court Martial, to be composed of three or more Officers of the said Militia, who, upon proof of the offence by the Oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses, (which Oath the President of the said Court Martial is hereby authorized to administer) shall and may order and sentence every such offender to pay a fine, not exceeding five pounds, nor less than five shillings, at the discretion of the Court, and according to the nature of the offence, and in default of payment, commit such offender to the common Gaol of the District, for a term not exceeding one month, nor less than three days, or until the amount of such fine shall be paid, any law to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Oath to be taken by President and Members of Court Martial.

VII. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That in all trials by any Court Martial, other than General Courts Martial, the person appointed to be President thereof, shall administer to each of the other Members, the following Oath: *You* A. B. *do swear that you will administer Justice to the best of your understanding in the matter now before you, according to the Militia Laws of this Province, and the evidence which shall be produced before you, without partiality, favor or affection.*—So help you God. And as soon as the said Oath shall have been administered by the President to the other Members, any one of the said Members shall administer the said Oath to the President.

How if a sufficient number of officers shall not be present.

VIII. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That whenever it shall so happen that there shall not be a sufficient number of Officers present to compose a Court as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Commanding Officer to detain such offender in custody,

until a Court can be assembled, for the trial of such offender; Provided such Court can be obtained within twelve hours from the time of such confinement, and in case a Court as hereinbefore directed, cannot be assembled within twelve hours, such offender shall be released from such confinement, and tried under the provisions of the Act of the forty-eighth of the King, intituled, "An Act to explain, amend and reduce to one Act of Parliament, the several Laws now in being for the raising and training the Militia of this Province."

If Court cannot be assembled within twelve hours, offender to be released and tried under the provisions of the Act of the 48th of the King.

IX. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That if any person or persons shall presume to disturb, interrupt, or molest, any party of Militia, whilst on duty, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Commanding Officer of such party, to order any such person or persons to be carried before any one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, who shall be next to the place where the offence may be committed, who upon proof of the offence by the oath of one or more witness or witnesses, shall and may order and adjudge every such offender to pay a fine not exceeding five pounds, nor less than ten shillings, and in default of payment, to commit him to the common Gaol of the District, for a term not exceeding one month, nor less than ten days, unless the fine is sooner by him paid.

Penalty for disturbing Militia on duty.

X. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government, from time to time, and as often as occasion shall require, to make such regulations as he shall think necessary, for the care and custody of any Arms and Accoutrements provided and supplied in order to the instruction of the Militia men to be trained and exercised; and also from time to time as occasion may require, by any order or orders to be made and issued for that purpose, to declare and establish the dress and uniform to be worn by any and every part of the Militia of this Province. *Provided always*, that nothing

Governor to make regulations for the care and custody of Arms and Accoutrements, and also to establish the dress and uniform.

herein contained, shall be construed to oblige any Militia man to provide any uniform at his own expence.

XI. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That so much of the said Act passed in the forty-eighth year of the King, intituled, " An Act to explain, amend and reduce to one Act of Parliament, the several Laws now in being, for the raising and training of the Militia of this Province," as directs that no Company of Militia shall consist of more than fifty men, shall be and the same is hereby repealed, and that every Company shall and may consist of a number not exceeding one hundred men.

Companies of Militia to be composed of a number not exceeding 100 men.

XII. And whereas it may be convenient to form one or more Company or Companies of Riflemen in this Province, *Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government of this Province, to form and embody such Company or Companies, and employ the same on such duties as the necessity of the service may require.

Governor to form and embody rifle companies.

XIII. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That every Officer of the Militia of this Province, shall on or before the fourth day of June next, and every Officer who may after that day be appointed, within eight days after he shall have received his Commission, before one or more of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for the District to which his Regiment, Battalion or Company shall belong, take and subscribe the following Oath, to wit: *I* A. B. *do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, as Lawful Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of this Province, as dependant thereon, and that I will defend him to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person, Crown and Dignity, and particularly his Dominions in North America, and that I will do my utmost*

Oath to be taken by the Officers.

endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his heirs or successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies and attempts, which I shall know to be against him, or any of them, and to all this I do swear without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation, and renouncing all pardons and dispensations from any person or power whatsoever, to the contrary. So help me God.

XIV. *And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government, to order and direct that the Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates, of any and every Regiment, Battalion Company or body of Militia in this Province, shall be called upon to take and subscribe the said Oath of Allegiance, and that upon receiving any orders for that purpose, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Commanding Officer of such Regiment, Battalion or Company, and he is hereby required to call upon every Non-Commissioned Officer or Private of his Regiment, Battalion or Company, to take and subscribe the said Oath, before one or more of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the District to which such Regiment, Battalion or Company shall belong, which Oath shall be administered free of expence, and that every Justice of the Peace administering such Oath, shall forward a Certificate thereof, to the Clerk of the Peace of the District to be enrolled, which such Clerk of the Peace is hereby required to do free of expence; and if any Officer, Non-Commissioned Officer, or Private, (having been required so to do) shall refuse or neglect to take and subscribe the said Oath, in manner hereby directed upon conviction before any General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, or in time of actual Invasion or Insurrection, before any Court Martial, every such person or persons shall be deemed and taken to be an alien, and shall be liable to and subject to any law or laws now in force, or hereafter to be made, respecting or against aliens.

Governor, &c. may order non-commissioned officers and privates to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty.

How they are to be called upon so to do.

Penalty for neglecting or refusing.

So much of 48th Geo. 3d Ch. 1, as directs that no part of the Militia shall continue on service more than six months, repealed.

XV. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That so much of the said Act as directs that any Body or Detachment of Militia, which may be called out by the Governor, or Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government, shall and may be detained on such service, for and during the space of six Months at one time and no longer, shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

How detachments of Militia to be relieved.

XVI. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That at the expiration of six Months, from the time of any such Detachment being called out as aforesaid, one third of the men of such Detachment shall be selected by ballot, and if relieved by an equal number of men, shall be discharged, and at the expiration of seven months from the time of calling out such Detachment, another third shall be selected, and if relieved, discharged in like manner, and at the expiration of eight months, the remaining third, if relieved, shall be discharged.

Officers commanding to call out regiments, &c., for the purpose of being reviewed by Inspecting Field Officers when required.

XVII. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful to and for any Colonel or other Officer Commanding any Regiment, Battalion or Company, and he is hereby required to call out his Regiment, Battalion or Company, whenever he shall be directed so to do, for the purpose of being Inspected or Reviewed, by any Inspecting Field Officer of Militia, or other Field Officers of the line, who may be sent for that purpose; and that Lieutenant Colonels in his Majesty's Army, serving with any part of the Militia in this Province, shall command all Militia Officers whatever, anything in the said in part recited Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Lt.-Colonels in the army to command all Militia officers.

Persons serving in volunteer corps to be exempted from serving in the Militia.

XVIII. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That every Militia man whose services may be accepted of in any volunteer Corps, now or hereafter to be raised, shall be exempted from serving as a Militia man under this or the before mentioned Act, whilst he shall belong to any such Corps as aforesaid, and also that every person serving in any

flank Company, shall not be liable to any personal Arrest on any civil Process, or to serve as Juror, or to perform duty as a Town or Parish Officer, or Statute labour on the Highways, during the time he shall continue in such flank Companies, any law to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Persons serving in flank companies shall not be liable to arrest on civil process, to serve on Juries, or to perform duty as Parish or Town officers or Statute labour.

XIX. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That any Non-Commissioned Officer or Private Militia man, who in any engagement with an enemy, or by any accident or casualty which may occur while on, or performing any duty in actual service, shall be killed, and shall leave a Widow, or Child or Children lawfully begotten, his said Widow shall be entitled to receive during her widowhood, and in case of the death of such Widow, then the eldest Child, or Guardian, for the use of the child or children of such Non-Commissioned Officer or Private Militia man, until the youngest thereof shall have attained the age of sixteen years, an annuity of five pounds lawful money of this Province, and also, that every Non-Commissioned Officer or Private of Militia, who in any engagement with an enemy, or by any accident or casualty which may occur while on, or performing any duty in actual service, shall be wounded or disabled, so as to be rendered incapable of earning his livelihood, shall be allowed an annuity of nine pounds lawful money of this Province, during the time he shall continue under such incapacity.

Provision for the widows and children of non-commissioned officers and privates who shall be killed on service,

and for non-commissioned officers and privates who shall be wounded or disabled.

XX. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That so much of an Act passed in the forty eighth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act to explain, amend and reduce to one Act of Parliament, the several laws now in being for the raising and training the Militia of this Province," as directs how Militia fines are to be disposed of, be and the same is hereby repealed.

Part of 48th Geo. 3d repealed.

XXI. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That all sums of money arising from fines, forfeitures and penalties, by this or the above recited Act imposed,

How monies arising from fines, &c., are to be disposed of.

together with a list of such fines, forfeitures and penalties shall, as soon after the thirty-first day of December in every year, as practicable, be transmitted by the Magistrate or Officer respectively receiving the same, to the Receiver General of this Province, to be disposed of as the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government shall direct, to purposes only that shall respect the said Militia, and which shall be accounted for to the Crown, through the Commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, for the time being, as the Crown shall direct.

Continuance of this Act.

XXII. *Provided always*, That this present Act shall continue and be in force until the first day of January next and from thence to the end of the then next ensuing Session of the Legislature of this Province, and no longer.

Chap. VI.

An Act for granting to his Majesty a sum of money for the use of the Militia of this Province.

[Passed 6th March, 1812.]

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Preamble.

Whereas it is necessary that provision should be made for defraying the expences of Training and Exercising the Militia of this Province, and for furnishing Necessaries for the said Militia when embodied for the purpose of Exercise; Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of, and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled, "An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, in North America, and to make further provision for the government of the said Province," and by

the authority of the same, That from and out of the Rates and Duties already raised, levied and collected, or hereafter to be raised, levied and collected, to and for the uses of this Province, there be granted to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of five thousand pounds, to be issued out of the funds now remaining, or hereafter to come into the Receiver General's hands unappropriated, and arising from such Rates and Duties as last aforesaid, which sum of five thousand pounds shall be disposed of for the purpose of defraying the Expence of Training and Exercising the Militia of this Province, and such other Expences as may be incurred in Training and Exercising the said Militia, in pursuance of the Militia Laws in this Province, in such manner as shall be directed by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the government for the time being, and the due application of such monies as shall be issued for the purpose aforesaid, pursuant to the directions of this Act, shall be accounted for to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, through the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, in such manner and form as his Majesty, his heirs and successors shall be pleased to direct.

5000*l*. to be applied in defraying the expence of training and exercising the Militia, in such manner as the Governor, &c., shall direct.

Due application of monies to be accounted for, &c.

Archives, G. 56, p. 138.

From the Earl of Liverpool, Downing Street, to Brock in Upper Canada.

Duplicate.

Original by the Savage Sloop of War.

Downing Street

N°. 2. 2d April 1812.

Sir,

His Royal Highness The Prince Regent, acting in the name & on the Behalf of His Majesty, having been pleased

to appoint Lieut. Gen[l]. Sir Geo. Prevost to be Captain General & Governor in Chief in & over the Provinces of Upper & Lower Canada—I have it in Command to transmit for your Guidance a Copy of his Commission, together with the Instructions under His Royal Highness's Sign Manual, for the Government of the Upper Province, Copies of which have been sent to the Governor in Chief.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Most obedient
Humble Servant
Liverpool.

Archives, C. 676, p. 103.

From Brock at York to Prevost at ——.

York U. C.
April 22[d] 1812

Sir,

I had the honor yesterday to receive Your Excellency's letter dated the 31[st] Ult[o]. And I entreat your Excellency to believe that no act within my controul, shall afford the Government of the United States a legitimate pretext to add to a clamour which has been artfully raised against England.

We have received the account of the renewal of the embargo, and that the most rigorous measures have already been adopted to prevent the least infringement of it upon the Niagara river—Armed Men in Coloured Clothes are continually patroling along the shore These troops are stated to have recently arrived, but I have not been able to ascertain whether they belong to the new levy, or the Militia —They are reported to amount to about three hundred. Colonel Procter has doubtless written fully on the subject,

but unfortunately the letters by some negligence were left at Niagara, the accounts which have reached me are not therefore so satisfactory as could be wished. An idle boy is stated to have wantonly fired with ball at the guard opposite Queenston, and that the Americans were guilty of a similar outrage by firing during the night into a room in which a woman was sitting—No mischief luckily followed. Being detained here upon civil business, I have sent Captain Glegg over to see how matters stood, and to arrange with both Civil and Military the best means of preventing a recurrence of a practice which may easily lead to serious consequences. I hope to be at Niagara myself the day after to morrow

I beg leave to assure Your Excellency that I receive with no small degree of pride the praise bestowed on my endeavours to improve the Militia system of this Province; and as the Bill underwent some alterations after the departure of Colonel M^c^Donell, particularly in limiting its operation to the end of the ensuing session, I shall have the honor to forward for your Excellency's information the law as now inforced.

I have by partial and gentle means already commenced to give it operation, and I make not the least doubt but that a sufficient number will be found ready to volunteer to complete the Flank Companies, and I here beg leave to call Your Excellency's attention to the clause which authorizes the training of the Flank Companies six times in each month—but as no provision is made for remunerating the men, I presume to submit for Your Excellency indulgent consideration that the Commissaries be instructed to issue rations for the number actually present at exercise.

These Companies I expect will be composed of the best description of inhabitants, who in most cases will have to go a great distance to attend parade, and unless this liberal provision be allowed, will be liable to heavy expense, or subject to considerable privations. According to my present

arrangements the number embodied will not exceed seven hundred, and when the Companies are completed throughout the Province, they may be calculated at eighteen hundred—and as during harvest and the winter months, few, or no parades will take place, the total expense attending the measure can be of no material consequence in a pecuniary point of view, and may in a political light be productive at this juncture of considerable benefit.

I have likewise to request that such portion of Clothing as Your Excellency can conveniently spare from the King's Stores may be forwarded to enable me to Clothe such Companies as are the most likely to be called upon duty.

I am anxious to hear the real object of the embargo—should it be directed solely against England, the probability is that it leads to a war, but should France be included in its operation, nothing of the kind need be dreaded.

In the expectation of having the honor of seeing your Excellency shortly at York, I limit for the present the works of the Military Artificers at this place to preparing a temporary Magazine for the reception of the spare powder at Fort George and Kingston—and the excavation of the ditch for the proposed fortification of the spot on which the government house stands.

I transmit for your Excellency perusal a detailed account of the transactions which led to the unjustifiable censure passed by the House of Assembly upon Chief Justice Scott—it is written by M^{r}. Nichol himself; the warmth with which he has expressed his indignation at the wanton exercise of a power yet undefined as far as regards this Province, is not therefore surprizing. I am convinced that whenever the business is brought legally before the Judges they will refuse to sanction the enormous power, under the name of privilege, which the House arrogates to itself. The Executive will in that case be placed in a very awkward predicament. M^{r}. Nichol having commenced civil actions against the Speaker

and Serjeant at Arms for false imprisonment, will, should he succeed in obtaining damages, bring the question, with double force, on the carpet—The violence and ignorance which in all probability will mark the proceedings of the House cannot fail producing a dissolution. I apply forcibly to Ministers for instructions, but should they be contrary to the opinion which the Judges of the Court of King's Bench have formed of the Law, I am led to believe they will not influence their judgment. Therefore one of these two alternatives must be resorted to—the appointment of more docile Judges, or the decision of the question by a British act of Parliament. I trust for the tranquility and prosperity of the Province that the latter mode may be preferred. I have thus freely, and perhaps with rather too much haste to be sufficiently explicit, stated the difficulties which in all likelihood I shall have to encounter the next meeting of the Legislature.

Being anxious that Captain Holcroft should acquire a thorough knowledge of the roads in the neighbourhood of Niagara I have consented to his drawing forage for one Horse to enable him to perform that service. An arrangement which I have to request Your Excellency may have the goodness to sanction. Should the effect of the embargo appear to be directed solely at Great Britain, I shall avail myself of the confidence placed in me, and order the purchase of Horses to enable the Car Brigade to act in case of necessity. This being a service which requires infinite trouble and practice to bring to any degree of perfection, cannot be too soon attended to.

I have the honor to be,
with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and
very Humble Servant
Isaac Brock
M. G—.

Archives, C. 329, p. 32.

From Brock at York to Noah Freer, Military Secretary, at ——

York U. C.
April 23d 1812.

Sir,

I transmit herewith for the information of the Commander of the Forces, a copy of a letter received from the Earl of Liverpool, authorizing an encrease of Two hundred pounds p annum to the Salary of Colonel Claus, Deputy Superintendant General of Indian Affairs, to commence from the 1st Jany. 1811.

The inconvenience to which the public service has already been exposed owing to a scarcity of specie, the likelihood of the evil being encreased by the operation of the embargo, and the almost total impossibility in the event of war, of getting a sufficient supply to defray the ordinary expenses of Government, have led me to consider the best means of obviating so serious a difficulty—And having consulted with some of the principal Merchants as to the practibility of introducing, with any probability of success, a paper currency, I think myself warranted in stating that such an arrangement would, particularly in the event of war, be generally supported throughout the Province—The old inhabitants understand perfectly the circulation of paper as a substitute for Cash, and having been in the habit formerly of receiving the notes of private individuals, would not hesitate taking the more certain security of government—especially if convinced that payment could not be made any other way.

The Commissaries ought to be instructed to receive this paper as Cash, giving Bills, in return, on Quebec. It is supposed that the circulation of 10 or 15,000 pds. would answer every purpose. No note under 5 shillings should be issued, nor any above ten pounds—the accompanying letter

from Mr. Selby, the Receiver General, fully elucidates the business—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st April. The Commissary General will doubtless have been apprized that his instructions to Mr. McGill arrived in time to supersede those he received from me. Too great a dependance ought not to be placed on the surplus of the several species in stores at the different posts. I have reason to think that at Amherstburg nearly the entire excess will be found damaged and unserviceable. Being desirous to ascertain the actual state of the Stores at that Post I directed, a month ago, a regular Survey to be taken of every article—and the moment I receive the report of the Board it shall be forwarded to Head Quarters. Flower has risen to eight dollars and one half p barrel. The effect of the embargo is not yet felt. Upwards of 40,000 barrels will be kept from the Montreal Market by it—the produce of the south of Lake Ontario.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient and
Humble Servant
Isaac Brock
M. G.

Archives, Library; Documents relating to Wars of 1812-15.

THE GUARDIAN EXTRA.

[Vol. III.] NIAGARA, June 9, 1812. [Numb. 44.]

TO THE PUBLIC.

The common duties of discretion, if no other motive, it was devoutly hoped, would at this time particularly, have had some influence upon the conduct of certain characters,

and restrained their malignity so far as it respects myself at least; but in this expectation have I been disappointed, and I am again called on from the necessity of the case to urge myself upon the attention of the Public, in vindication of my reputation, and to dispel the unfavorable impressions (if any such have been made to my prejudice) which the most deliberate and atrocious falsehoods circulated with a zealous industry worthy of a better cause have been calculated to create in the minds of the people, in order to mislead their judgment, and promote the favorite design of the Court Faction,—namely, that of keeping from the floor of the House of Assembly, not only myself, but every other man who has not the mark of the beast stamped upon his forehead, or is not ready to bow down and worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up, or in other words who is not devoted to the policy of keeping the people *down*. The only base and slanderous calumny which I shall select from among many in circulation too absurd and contemptible for notice, is that relative to the sale of my Press.—It is stated that I have sold it to the *Tarriers* of Government for a considerable sum of money, and that I have it in contemplation to abandon the country with the spoils I can collect. —To this I will pin these honorable gentlemen, and a plain tale shall put them at rest.—True, I have sold to Richard Hatt Esq. my Press and Letter which were growing old and crazy, for the sum of Sixteen Hundred Dollars (and let me observe by the way a trite but vulgar addage that a fool and his money is soon parted)—for the quarter of which sum I can purchase a new and complete set of Types and Press.—And it is equally true that I am determined with all possible dispatch that the Guardian (Phœnix like) shall arise from the ashes of the Old Press. Setting aside the consideration of a very profitable bargain, I have furnished by this act the most damning proof against the clamerous insinuations of my Enemies; that it was through the medium of my press that

I secured to myself an influence, and that I would oppose the introduction of any other print which might oppose me. I have now fitted for the field my most bitter foes—they ought to have regarded the act with sentiments of gratitude and thankfulness; and the public should (as I am sure they will) hail it as a happy event, since truth and falsehood will be arrayed against each other—and the people may judge for themselves. The new Governmental Editor with his host of coadjutors may exercise their ingenuity to advocate the measures of administration in this Province, but let them beware how they substitute Falsehood for truth, Treachery for true allegiance, and vice for virtue.—I pledge myself to ferret them out, detect and expose every attempt made to impose upon the honest credulity of a Loyal, and already too much abused people. I know a country where the most detestable crimes have assumed the name of virtues, and the Press has teemed with approbation of the conduct of perjured villains, and horrible Assassins—the arts of government so ably practised in Europe, we wish not to import here—they will not flourish in this clime; and this I assert with confidence, that when a government can be supported only by resorting to violence, deception, and fraud, there must be some deep and radical defect which must terminate in convulsions and death.—But methinks I am of much more consequence than I thought myself to be; else why these strenuous exertions made to defeat my Election as a Representative? I am flattered at being ranked among the enemies of the measures of the Kings Servants in this Colony—I glory in the distinction. Is it truth and a constant adherence to the interests of the Country, that has excited so much alarm among the band of Sycophantic Office-Hunters, Pensioners and Pimps! or was it because a majority of the Representatives of the People would not make a law to subject themselves and their constituents to an imprisonment of eighteen months that the lamentable cry was echoed thro'

the Streets of York, that the Country with another such Session would be undone ?—

Are all, or any of these things productive of such malignant hatred towards me ?—the answer will be found in the breast of every honest man.—It is truth and that alone which strikes terror thro' the Tyrants Heart—it is that divine attribute which has frustrated for these four years past every attempt made to destroy me ;—it was that which caused the kings Representative to shrink from meeting me in the highest court of justice in this country on an information filed against me by his Attorney General for a libel at York ; and the same cause opperated to produce the Head of the Indian Department, to enter a nole presequi on a similar information—it is that in short which has been my shield and buckler thro' the fiery trial, and with it will I yet confound my enemies.—Fellow subjects this is the last impression the Old Press will make for your benefit while in my possession—it is now about to pass into hands I fear polluted, yet may it be the instrument of good in the hands of evil doers, for in the collision which will ensue between the old and the new press, general information will be more widely diffused—I should be wanting to myself and my numerous subscribers were I to omit to acknowledge the sense of gratitude I entertain towards them for their steady support towards the Guardian, which I hope and trust they will continue to cherish & Protect—No circumstance more strongly marks the pedigree of the people of this Province than the attachment they have shewn to a free press ; & amidst the powers of seduction, corruption and terror with which they have been assailed, they have proved themselves to inherit the spirit of their ancestors, while it must be a matter of astonishment to every reflecting mind, that so extensive a currency has been given to a public news paper, avowedly calculated to disseminate the principles of political truth, check the progress of inordinate power, and keep alive the sacred flame of a just and rational liberty.

J. Willcocks, *Editor.*

Archives, Lower Canada State Book G, p. 234.

Minutes of Proceedings of the Executive Council of Lower Canada.

Friday 26th June 1812—

At the Council Chamber in the Castle of St. Lewis—

Present—

His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost Baronet President of the Province—

The Honorable the Chief Justice
The Lord Bishop of Quebec—
Thos. Dunn
F. Baby
J. Young
J. Williams
&
J. Irvine Esquires—

His Excellency communicated to the Board two Letters the one from Mr. McGill and the other from Mr. Richardson which were received yesterday containing information that by an Express which left New York on the 20th Instant and Albany on Saturday last intelligence had been received of a Declaration of War on the part of the United States against Great Britain. His Excellency further acquainted the Board that soon after taking upon himself the administration of the Government of this Province he had recommended the following Gentlemen to be appointed Members of the Executive Council viz.: J. Kerr, Ross Cuthbert, M. H. Perceval, J. Mure, and Olivier Perrault, Esquires—That he had since received a dispatch 31st December 1811 from the Earl of Liverpool in which his Lordship informs him that the necessary instruments were preparing for the appointment of the Persons recommended by him to be Members of the

Executive Council and that they would be forwarded as soon as Compleated but that the said Instruments had not yet reached his hands. His Excellency at the same time observed, that considering the peculiar circumstances in which the Province was now placed by the late Proceedings on the part of the Government of the United States, he was desirous of strengthening the Executive Government of the Province by immediately calling the Gentlemen above mentioned to the Council and that for this purpose he had directed them to be summoned to attend the present meeting—

The said Gentlemen being called in took and subscribed the State Oaths and the Oath of office of Counsellor and then took their seats at the Board, after which His Excellency addressed the Board as follows :—

Gentlemen

You will hear read the Communication I have received by Express from Montreal of a Declaration of War having taken place against Great Britain by the Government of the United States. Although the Information cannot be considered as authentic until I shall have received from His Majesty's Minister at Washington an Official Report of the Event still I deem it expedient to bring the subject thus early before you to enable you to consider of the immediate Consequences of War upon Lower Canada and to enable you to strengthen His Majesty's Government with your advice as to the measures best calculated to remove some of the Evils attendant on it, and resist others with well grounded hopes of success.

His Excellency having withdrawn, the Members formed themselves into a Committee, and proceeded to the consideration of several matters arising out of the subjects referred to them and conceiving That an Embargo might be required upon Provisions and warlike Stores of all descriptions, did humbly recommend That no Vessel be allowed to sail with

Provisions or Warlike Stores until Monday Morning the 29th Instant and that such steps should be taken for this purpose as His Excellency should deem to be most effectual.

After which the Committee adjourned till tomorrow at eleven OClock then to meet at the Bishop's Palace.

Tuesday 30th June 1812

At the Council Chamber in the Castle of St. Lewis.

Present—

His Excellency Lieut. General Sir George Prevost Bart.
President of the Province

The Honble. The Chief Justice—
The Lord Bishop of Quebec—
Thos Dunn
F. Baby—
J. Young
J. Williams
J. Irvine
Jas. Kerr
Rs. Cuthbert
M. H. Perceval
John Mure
and
Olivier Perrault, Esquires

His Excellency laid before the Board two Reports of the Committee of the whole Council on the matters referred to their consideration in Council on the 26th Instant together with the Drafts of two Proclamations and of an Instrument for the appointment of Commisioners to tender the oath of Allegiance to all or any Person or Persons now in the Province, and the same being read the *Reports* were ordered to be entered—

To His Excellency Sir George Prevost Baronet President of the Province of Lower Canada &c. &c. &c.

Report of a Comittee of the whole Council, Present, The Hon^ble the Chief Justice in the Chair, The Lord Bishop of Quebec, M^r. Dunn, M^r. Baby, M^r. Young, M^r. Williams, M^r. Irvine, M^r. Kerr, M^r. Cuthbert, M^r. Perceval, M^r. Mure & M^r. Perrault

May it please Your Excellency—

The Comittee beg leave to lay before Your Excellency the result at this time of their deliberations upon your important reference of yesterday—There are yet many subjects before them upon which they will report with all possible dispatch—

Resolved unanimously—

1^st. That in the opinion of this Comittee it is advisable for his Excellency The President forthwith to convene the Provincial Parliament to meet in —— days from the date of His Excellency's Proclamation.

2^d. That in the opinion of this Committee it is advisable for His Excellency forthwith to lay a General Embargo on all Ships and Vessels Monies Goods, Wares and Commodities whatsoever to continue for fourteen days from the date of his Proclamation—

3^rd. That in the opinion of this Committee it will be advisable for His Excellency forthwith to call out and embody the Militia of the Province to such extent and in such proportions as to each District and Parish, as he may see fit—

4^th. That in the opinion of this Committee it will be advisable for his Excellency to issue Commissions to such persons as he shall see fit authorizing them to tender the Oath of Allegiance to all Persons now in the Province and that proceedings according to the exigency and circumstances of each particular Case be had against all who shall refuse the Oath.—

5th. That in the opinion of this Committee it will be advisable for His Excellency forthwith by Proclamation to require all persons now in the Province being Aliens (Seamen under Articles excepted) to declare their names, rank, occupation, description and places of residence to such person or persons as His Excellency shall see fit to appoint

6th. That in the opinion of this Committee it will be advisable for His Excellency to take such steps as may be most effectual to ascertain the quantity of Flour Wheat and Provisions of every kind and of Warlike Stores now in the Province and in the hands of Individuals.—

All which is most respectfully submitted to Your Excellency's Wisdom:—

Council Chamber
Bishop's Palace
27th June 1812—

By order
(Signed) J. Sewell
Chairman—

To His Excellency Sir George Prevost, Baronet President of the Province of Lower Canada &c. &c. &c.

Report of a Committee of the whole Council, Present, The Honble. The Chief Justice in the Chair, The Lord Bishop of Quebec, Mr. Dunn, Mr. Baby, Mr. Young, Mr. Williams, Mr. Irvine, Mr. Kerr, Mr. Cuthbert, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Mure & Mr. Perrault.

May it please Your Excellency—

The Committee having deliberately weighed the circumstances in which the Province is now placed do humbly recommended to Your Excellency to issue a Proclamation when and so soon as you shall see fit declaring Martial Law throughout the Province and subjecting all persons to the operation of that Law except the Members of the Legislature the Officers of the Legislative Council and the Officers of the House of Assembly during their Sessions.—

The Committee do not however apprehend that Martial Law in an unqualified degree will be necessary and therefore they humbly submit that at the meeting of the Legislature it will be expedient for Your Excellency to allow any Act which may modify the operation of Martial Law to a degree that will leave to Your Excellency all the power which you may think necessary for the defence of the Country.—

The Committee deem it right briefly to submit to Your Excellency the grounds of these opinions.—

The Committee feel it to be their duty at this important crisis to offer such advice as in their minds appears to tend most effectually to secure the Province To His Majesty and to the Inhabitants of the Province the blessings of His Majesty's Government—

They conceive it to be impossible to bring into the Field the population of the Country without means far beyond the impositions of small Fines, and punishment by short imprisonments which are the only means to which to punish disobedience a recourse can be had while the Civil Law remains in force—and that the Country (for the moment at least) can not be protected without the effectual co-operation of that population.

That it must be some time, two months at least, before any instructions can be received from His Majesty's Ministers of any assistance sent from England.—

They have no doubt that an immediate declaration of Martial Law will receive the sanction of the Provincial Legislature at its meeting ; But admitting even that they are mistaken it will follow that a refusal of that sanction will be the best proof to His Majesty's Ministers of that necessity which in the opinion of the Committee calls for the declaration of Martial Law.—

The Committee have to observe that the authority of Your Excellency's Commission extends to the declaration of Martial Law in time of " Invasion or at other times when by Law it may be executed " Words which obviously admit

of doubts whether the actual situation of the Province does litterally lie within their import; They think it therefore right to add, that they ground their opinion not on the letter of Your Excellency's Commission but on the absolute and imperious netessity of existing circumstances—

All which is most respectfully submitted to Your Excellency's Wisdom.—

Council Chamber
Bishop's Palace
30th June 1812

By order
(Signed) J. Sewell
Chairman—

Ordered also that the Proclamation directing subjects of the United States to leave the Province and the Proclamation laying an Embargo on all Ships and Vessels till the 16th July next be immediately published and that a Proclamation be issued for convening the Provincial Legislature on Thursday the 16th day of July next also Ordered that an Instrument under the Great Seal for the appointment of Commissioners to tender the oath of allegiance as above recommended be immediately engrossed.—

Archives, C. 722, p. 30.

From Sir John Coape Sherbrooke at Halifax to Prevost at ——.

Halifax Nova Scotia
29 June 1812

Sir

I have the honor to enclose for Your Excellencys information copies of despatches that reached me by express last night.—In addition to the intelligence contained in these papers I have to acquaint Your Excellency that His Majesty's Frigate the Belvidera arrived in this port the day before yesterday and Captain Byron her Commander reports that four days ago he was cruizing off New London, that he observed five strange sail making towards him, that they proved to be three frigates carrying two broad pendants

with American Colours, a Brig and a Corvette—that on coming nearer the van of these ships supposed to be the President fired two shots into the Belvidera which Captain Byron did not return till after an interval of Several Minutes, that the strange ships followed him the foremost firing several broadsides—He however made his escape from this superior force with the loss of two men killed and eighteen wounded.—The Admiral speaks in high terms of the Conduct of Captain Byron who maintained a running fight for a considerable time and has himself suffered a contusion on the thigh by the recoil of one of his own guns in this affair.

I have the honor to be Sir
Your Excellency's
Most obedient
humble Servant
J. C. Sherbrooke
L^t. Gen^l.

P.S.

I think it right further to add that I have in consequence of the intelligence herein enclosed written immediately to Major General Smyth commanding in New Brunswick directing him to take such measure as the smallness of the Force under his orders will allow of for the defence of that Province, directing him at the same time to confine himself for the present to operations as far as circumstances will admit of merely defensive at the same time should there appear on the part of the States nearest to him a spirit of resistance to the measures of their Government that he should by a prudent forbearance towards them as much as possible encourage its extension.—

I have determined until I receive Your Excellency's instructions to adopt a system at present only defensive and indeed the very few troops stationed here would preclude any other measure, nor shall I depart in any instance from this line, except the Admiral should represent the possession of

Moose Island to be essentially necessary to the defence of the Bay of Fundy In which case I shall endeavour to possess it.—

I hope to be honored as soon as possible with Your Excellency's instructions for my farther guidance.

J. C. S—

Archives, C. 722, p. 34.

Enclosures. From Major Drummond at St. John's, New Brunswick, to Sherbrooke at Halifax.

Copy/

St. John's New Brunswick
June 27th 1812.
2 OClock A.M.

Sir/

I have the honor to report that this moment a Dispatch arrived from St. Andrews stating that War has been declared by the United States against England on the 17th Inst.—

I have therefore judged it necessary to send Lieut: Rigby of the 104th Regt. by way of Digby and a Serjeant by Windsor to give you the earliest information on this subject.

I enclose the affidavit of Mr. Henry Smith and the opinion of Mr. Pagan a respectable Magistrate of St. Andrews as to the veracity of Mr. Smith.

I have the honor to be
Sir/
Your very Obedient
Humble Servant
(Sign'd) W. Drummond
Majr. 104th Regt.

(Copy)

Last night at Eleven oClock an Express arrived at East Port from Washington with orders to the Collector of the Port and to The Commander of the Garrison to put the Town in as good a state of Defence as possible for that War was declared against England.

They at the same time were directed to act only on the Defensive The directions passed the Senate on the 19th Instant.

The Inhabitants of East Port held a meeting this morning when it was unanimously voted to preserve a good understanding with the Inhabitants of New Brunswick and to discountenance all depredations upon the property of each other. (Signed) Henry Smith.

Saint Andrews
June 26th.

Saint Andrews
June 26th.

I Certify that I have received the above from Mr. Henry Smith a Gentleman of great respectability to whose information I believe the fullest Credit may be given.

Sign'd R. Pagan.

A true Copy
T F Addison,
Mil. Secy.

Archives, C. 676, p. 126.

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova-Scotia, and its Dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas every species of predatory warfare carried on against Defenceless Inhabitants, living on the shores of the United States, contiguous to this Province and New Brunswick, can answer no good purpose, and will greatly distress Individuals: I have therefore thought proper, by and with the advice of His Majesty's Council, to order and direct all His

Majesty's Subjects, under my Government, to abstain from Molesting the Inhabitants living on the shores of the United States, contiguous to this Province and New Brunswick; and on no account to Molest the Goods, or unarmed Coasting Vessels, belonging to the Defenceless Inhabitants on the Frontiers, so long as they shall abstain, on their parts, from any Acts of Hostility and Molestation towards the Inhabitants of this Province and New Brunswick, who are in a similar situation—It is therefore my wish and desire, that the Subjects of the United States, living on the Frontiers, may pursue in peace their usual and accustomed Trade and occupations, without Molestation, so long as they shall act in a similar way towards the frontier Inhabitants of this Province and New-Brunswick.

And I do hereby order and command all His Majesty's Subjects, within my jurisdiction, to govern themselves accordingly, until further orders.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms,
at Halifax, this 3d day of July, 1812,
in the 52d Year of His Majesty's Reign.

J. C. SHERBROOKE.

By His Excellency's Command,
H. H. Cogswell.

Archives, C. 688a, p. 73.

From Chief Justice Sewell at Quebec to Prevost at Quebec.

[Endorsement] 3d July 1812. THE HONBLE. THE CHIEF JUSTICE.

Quebec 3d July 1812.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency by Captain Fulton, the Proclamation of Martial Law, and the Dedimus Potestatem appointing Commissioners to tender the Oath of Allegiance.

The former is not dated ; nor is the place at which it may be signed inserted, but these blanks must of course be filled when it is executed, if Your Excellency shall see fit to issue it ; the latter *is* filled up, as to date and place of execution, which have been inserted because the Council think it will be necessary to send the Circular Letter which they have adopted and the Oath to the Commissioners in the Districts of Quebec and Three Rivers immediately. We have found it impracticable to insert Commissioners for the District of Montreal and a blank is therefore left for the Names of such persons as Your Excellency being on the spot may see fit to appoint.

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be with
perfect respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient
and very humble Servant
J: Sewell.

Archives, C. 688a, p. 96.

Report of Committee of Executive Council of Lower Canada, Montreal, 7 July, 1812.

To His Excellency Sir George Prevost, Baronet, President in and over the Province of Lower Canada & Administrator of the Government thereof, Lieutenant General and Commander of all His Majesty's forces in the Provinces of Lower & Upper Canada, Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick & in the Islands of Cape Breton, Newfoundland, & the Bermudas, Vice-Admiral of the Same, &ª &ª &ª.—

May it please Your Excellency—

The Committee of His Majesty's Executive Council have had under their most serious Consideration your

Excellency's reference in respect to the immediate and unqualified declaration of Martial Law; and beg leave, humbly, to submit to your Excellency their unanimous & decided opinion of the necessity, in your Excellency, to exercise every practicable means that can strengthen the powers of His Majesty's Government, as well in respect to external ennemies, as to Combine the utmost energy from all His Majesty's subjects, under the strong sense of a subordination arising from Loyalty and love of their King & Country, which may afford your Excellency the entire Command of their natural powers to resist an invasion by ennemies, and Convince your Excellency, that, but one sentiment pervades the whole Body of this people; which is, to defend and preserve their Country, their Government & laws, or to perish in the Conflict.

Having premised the principles upon which the advice of the Committee proceed in all their deliberations, they beg leave, with Great deference, humbly to submit to your Excellency the impression they entertain on the immediate necessity and the Consequences that would result from your Excellency's unqualified declaration of Martial Law.

It appears to the Committee from all the information they have been enabled to obtain, that altho' War has been declared, and hostile intentions manifested, against this Colony; that no Considerable force has yet been Collected to excite Great apprehension of an immediate invasion of the Province.

That altho' the internal tranquillity of the Colony, and a due obedience to its legal powers, thro' the Militia Laws, have been lately interrupted by seditious acts of resistance to the execution of those laws, on this Island; yet they have terminated in a manner to remove any serious apprehensions that your Excellency's administration of those laws

will not hereafter be promptly and zealously carried into execution.

If those opinions be well founded, the Committee humbly Conceive, that the Civil rights of His Majesty's subjects, might be for a time, until Greater necessity should appear, left to the established protection which the laws, Civil and Penal, afford in the efficacious Government of persons & things, not immediately Connected with the safety and defense of the Province: and, in that respect, deliberately weighing all the Circumstances that at present attend His Majesty's Government and the protection of this his Colony and people, We Consider it would be advisable in your Excellency, to exercise so much of His Majesty's Prerogative, as might super-induce more effective powers than at present subsist, under the actual laws for the defense of this Province.

And We respectfully submit, that your declaring the Law Martial to be in force and operate, upon the Conduct of all men in every act perpetrated, or Committed, Connected with the defense of this Colony, and the loyal and subordinate demeanor of all persons to that end, would produce the effect desired; until the Legislature, so soon to assemble, or your Excellency, in your Wisdom should Consider a more extended operation of that Coertion, through the medium of military tribunals, indispensably requisite.

We sensibly feel that we cannot too seriously, or impressively weigh, the very extensive and important consequences that must immediately follow, an exercise of His Majesty's Prerogative, that would suspend those Civil rights which preserve Connected, and secure the interest of individuals and of social order.

We need not present to your Excellency the very pressing necessity that would arise, to provide a speedy substitute, should it be your Excellency's pleasure, to close the established Courts of Justice.

And with Great deference, we humbly submit, that it would be more efficacious to apply the powers of His Majesty's prerogative, at present, only to that part of the deficiency, which is apprehended to be in the existing laws, for the immediate defense of this Province: as, from every consideration of facts and Circumstances, in the power of the Committee to obtain a knowledge of, the closing of His Majesty's Courts, would not at this time be necessary to strengthen His Majesty's Government in the defense of his Province and people of Lower Canada.

But we beg leave to be understood, that should an invasion or insurrection actually take place, it would be our decided opinion, that Martial Law, in its full extent, would be an indispensable exertion of the Prerogative, for the defense of His Majesty's Province, and protection of his faithful subjects therein.

That the Committee may more precisely lay before your Excellency the opinion they submit, upon this Very important subject, they beg leave to present with this report, the draft of a Proclamation which they Conceive would, for the present, attain the ends they have Considered as necessary to acquire, without delay, previous to the meeting of the Legislature.

And we beg leave to subjoin, that whenever it may be your Excellency's pleasure to give publicity to His Majesty's Proclamation, declaring Martial Law, it will be advisable, it should be rendered as General and impressive as possible. To this end we beg leave to suggest that the Justices of Police, after a call of the Magistrates, should be required publicly to read the same at the Court Houses; and that printed Copies should be sent from the office of the Adjutant General of Militia to the several officers Commanding Batallions or divisions through out the Province, directing them to cause the same to be read at the church door after divine service by a Captain of Militia, in each Parish in the Province

and that printed Copies of the same should be generally posted up at the church door of each Parish in the Province.

Wich with all deference is Humbly submitted to your Excellency's Wisdom.

James McGill.
Montreal, 7th July 1812. J. Monk.
P. L. Panet.
John Richardson.

[*Note in margin.*]

The Report of the Committee of the Executive Council at Montreal, upon your Excellency's reference for their Consideration of the immediate unconditional declaration of Martial Law, Conformable to a Proclamation for that purpose submitted with the said reference.

PROVINCIAL STATUTE OF LOWER CANADA

Quebec 1812

ACT to facilitate the circulation of Army Bills.

(1st August, 1812.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Preamble. WHEREAS by minute of your Majesty's Executive Council of this Province, made on the Sixth day of July in this year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve upon reference by his Excellency Sir George Prevost, Baronet, your Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Provinces of Lower-Canada, Upper-Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and their several dependencies, Lieutenant General and Commander of your Majesty's Forces in British North America,

it was declared to be the unanimous opinion of that Board, That for the purposes of maintaining the means of circulation and answering the exigencies of the public service at this important conjuncture, it was adviseable, "First, That His Excellency the Governor, as the Commander of His Majesty's Forces, from time to time, should prepare and make or cause to be prepared and made, any number of Bills to be denominated, ARMY BILLS, containing one common sum or different sums in the principal monies, so that all the principal sums to be contained in the said Army Bills so to be made, do not exceed two hundred and fifty thousand pounds currency. Second, that such Army Bills should be issued from an office to be established for that purpose to be called the *Army Bill Office*. Third, that the said Army Bills of twenty-five dollars each and upwards, should bear interest at the rate of four pence per centum per diem, upon or in respect of the several amounts of each. Fourth, that the principal sums of the said Army Bills of twenty-five dollars each and upwards should at the option of the Commander of the Forces, be payable on demand to the holders of such Army Bills in cash or in government Bills of Exchange in London, at thirty days sight at the current rate of Exchange. Fifth, that the interest of all such Army Bills of twenty-five dollars each and upwards upon the payment thereof in cash or in Bills of Exchange as aforesaid, should be paid in Army Bills or in cash at the Army Bill Office at the option of the Holders of such Army Bills. Sixth, that the principal sums of all such Army Bills of twenty-five dollars each and upwards, if paid in cash, should be paid at the Army Bill Office, but if paid in Government Bills of Exchange, should be paid at the Office of the Commissary General, upon a deposit in Army Bills of the amount of the Bills of Exchange to be so paid, and a certificate of such deposit under the hand of the Superintendant of the Army Bill Office, to the Commissary General. Seventh, that it will be adviseable for His Excellency the

Governor as Commander of the Forces, from time to time to prepare and make or cause to be prepared and made such number of Army Bills of the value of four dollars each as he shall see fit, provided, the said Army Bills of four dollars each, and the said Army Bills of twenty-five dollars each and upwards, do not together exceed the aforesaid sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds currency. EIGHTH, that the said Army Bills of four dollars each should be payable at the Army Bill Office in cash, to the bearer on demand. NINTH, that all Army Bills whatever should be issued as cash, upon the warrants of His Excellency as Commander of the Forces, to such person or persons, as he by such warrants shall see fit to direct such payments to be made. TENTH, that the current rate of Exchange should be established on oath once in every fortnight by five persons to be named by His Excellency and publickly notified before any Army Bills whatever shall be issued. ELEVENTH, that if any Army Bill shall be filled up by indorsements or be by accident defaced, the same on application being delivered up should be cancelled, and new Army Bills should be issued in lieu of such Army Bills so cancelled and such new Army Bills should bear the same numbers, dates and principal sums and carry the like interest as the Army Bills, so cancelled. TWELFTH, that no Army Bills should be reissued, those of four dollars each excepted, and that all Army Bills whatever should at all times be redeemable by being called in and paid, both principal and interest, in cash." And whereas His Excellency Sir George Prevost, Baronet, hath been pleased thereupon to prepare and cause to be prepared such Army Bills as aforesaid, to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, currency, which from time to time as required will be issued. And whereas it is the bounden duty of the Legislature of this Province, to furnish every possible aid and assistance towards the defence and protection of the Province, and to this end it is necessary to facilitate and support the circulation of all

such Army Bills; May it therefore please your Majesty that it may be enacted and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Lower-Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled, "An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act "passed in the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign, intituled "*An Act for making more effectual provision for the Government* "*of the Province of Quebec in North America*," And to make "further provision for the Government of the said province," And it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or person administering the Government of this Province for the time being, and each of them is hereby enabled, authorised and empowered from time to time and at all times, to pay and allow or cause to be paid and allowed out of all every and any the monies, customs, taxes and revenues of this Province, and in preference to all other claims and demands whatsoever, all such interest at the rate of four pence per hundred pounds per diem, as aforesaid as shall have arisen and grown due upon all, every and any such Army Bill, as aforesaid, which shall be so issued as aforesaid, not exceeding in the whole the sum of fifteen thousand pounds currency, per annum, which said interest shall run from the day of the date of such Bill or Bills, and such other charges as shall be necessarily incurred in, to or for the issuing, circulating or cancelling of the said Army Bills, not exceeding in the whole two thousand five hundred pounds, currency per annum, any thing herein or in any other Act contained, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Interest allowed on Army Bills

II. Provided always and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whatever monies shall be issued out of the aforesaid monies, customs, taxes and revenues of this Pro-

Monies issued out of Customs, &c. of this Province to be replaced.

vince, shall from time to time be replaced by and out of the first supplies to be then after granted to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, in the Provincial Parliament.

Army Bills shall be current in the revenue.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all each and every the said Army Bills which shall be issued as aforesaid, and shall from time to time remain undischarged and uncancelled, shall and may be received and taken and shall pass and be current to all and every the Collectors and Receivers in this Province of Lower Canada, of the Customs or any Revenue or Tax whatsoever already granted, due or payable, or which shall or may hereafter be granted, due or payable to His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors under and by virtue of any Act of the Parliament of Great Britain or of the Provincial Parliament or otherwise, and also at the Office of the Receiver General of this Province from the said Collectors and Receivers or from any other person or persons, bodies politic or corporate whatsoever, making any payments whatever there to His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors for or upon any account, cause or occasion whatsoever, and that the same in the hands of such Collectors and Receivers and in the hands of the Receiver General of this Province shall be deemed and taken as Cash, and as such shall be charged against and credited to such Collectors and Receivers and to such Receiver General as aforesaid respectively in their respective accounts with each other and with His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors.

In revenue payments, interest allowed to the day of payment.

IV. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the interest which from time to time shall be due upon any such Army Bill as aforesaid, shall be allowed to all persons bodies politic and corporate paying the same to the Receiver General of this Province, or to any Collector or Receiver of any of His Majesty's Customs, revenues or taxes up to the respective days whereupon such Bill or Bills shall be so paid ;

Provided always that every such Receiver General, Collectors and Receivers as aforesaid shall be accountable for the interest on every such Bill so by them or either of them received for and during the time during which such Bill shall remain in their hands. Proviso.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all interest upon such Army Bills as aforesaid shall cease from and after the fourteenth day next after the day on which the same by any proclamation or other public requisition by the Commander of His Majesty's Forces for the time being, shall be called in to be redeemed in cash and that money shall be reserved in hand for discharging the same. Interest to cease from the day on which the Bills are called in to be paid in specie.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons shall forge or counterfeit any such Army Bills as aforesaid which shall be issued before the same shall be paid off, discharged or cancelled, or any stamp, indorsement or writing thereupon or therein or tender in payment any such forged or counterfeit Army Bills or any such Army Bill with such counterfeit stamp, indorsement or writing thereupon or therein, or shall demand to have such counterfeit Army Bill or any such Army Bill with such counterfeit stamp, indorsement or writing thereupon or therein exchanged for Bills of Exchange or for cash or ready money by any person or persons, body or bodies politic or corporate who shall be obliged or required to exchange the same or by any other person or persons whatsoever knowing the Bill so tendered in payment or demanded to be so exchanged or the stamp or indorsement or writing thereupon or therein to be forged or counterfeited, and with intent to defraud His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors or the persons appointed or to be appointed to pay off the same or any of them or to pay any interest thereon, or the person Penalty on forging Army Bills.

or persons, officer or officers, body or bodies politic or corporate who shall issue or exchange the same for Bills of Exchange or any of them, or any other person or persons, body or bodies politic or corporate whatever, then every such person or persons so offending being thereof lawfully convicted shall be adjudged a Felon, and shall suffer as in cases of Felony, without benefit of clergy.

All Contracts to be void in which any distinction shall be made between army Bills and cash.

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons in any contract covenant agreement promise or other engagement whatever written or verbal shall specially undertake to pay or stipulate to be paid for any work, labour, goods, wares, merchandize, chattels or estate, moveable or immoveable or for any other matter or thing whatever, in specie or in any gold, silver or copper coin or shall otherwise make any distinction in value between the current coin and money of this Province, and such Army Bills as aforesaid then and in every such case, such contract, covenant, agreement, promise or other engagement written or verbal as aforesaid, shall be utterly and entirely null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and every and any such undertaking to pay or stipulation to be paid in specie or in any gold, silver or copper coin as aforesaid, and every such distinction in value as aforesaid, so made as aforesaid, shall and may be proved in any and every of His Majesty's Courts of Law in this Province, by parol proof, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

No arrest if a tender in Army Bills be made.

VIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that for and during the period of five years from the passing of this Act no person shall be held to special Bail upon any process issuing out of any Court of Judicature in this Province unless the affidavit which shall be made for that purpose according to the Provisions contained in the Ordinance made and passed in the twenty fifth year of the

Reign of His Majesty King George the Third, intituled "*An Ordinance to regulate the proceedings in the Court of "Civil Judicature and to establish Trials by Juries in actions "of a commercial nature and personal wrongs to be compen-"sated in damages*," shall not only contain the several matters required by the said Ordinance, but also that no offer has been made to pay in Army Bills the sum of money in such affidavit mentioned and therein sworn to for the purpose of holding such person to special Bail. And if any process shall be issued against any person upon which such person might have been held to special Bail before the passing of this Act and no affidavit shall be made as aforesaid "That no such offer of payment in Army Bills had been made as aforesaid," such person shall not be arrested on such process but proceedings shall be had against such person in the same manner as if no affidavit had been made for the purpose of holding such person to special Bail under the provisions of the Ordinance last aforesaid. Provided always, that if an affidavit shall be made upon which any person or persons might [have] been held to special Bail upon any such process as aforesaid before the passing of this Act, and it shall be likewise sworn in such affidavit that such offer of payment in Army Bills has been made as aforesaid so that the person or persons who might have been arrested and held to special Bail upon such process, if this Act had not been made, cannot by reason of such offer and of the provisions in this Act contained be so arrested and held to special Bail, it shall be lawful for the Court out of which such process shall issue or for any Judge of such Court in a summary way in term or vacation to order the defendant or defendants in the action in which such process shall issue and who might have been so held to special Bail as aforesaid if this Act had not been made to cause Army Bills to the amount of the sum of money for which such person or persons might have been so held to special Bail if this Act had not been made to be deposited in such manner

Proviso.

as such Court or such Judge shall direct to answer the *demande* of the Plaintiff or Plaintiffs in such action, and if such deposit shall not be made within the time limited by such order after such notice thereof, as shall thereby be directed to be given, it shall be lawful upon affidavit duly made and filed that such deposit has not been made according to such order, to arrest such defendant or defendants and to hold him or them to special Bail in such and the same manner as if this Act had not been made.

No attachment shall issue if there be not an affidavit of no tender in Army Bills.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that for and during the period of five years from the passing of this Act no process of attachment for attaching the estate, debts and effects of what nature soever of any person or persons whomsoever whether in the hands of the owner, the debtor or of a third person prior to trial and judgment shall issue, unless the affidavit which shall be made for that purpose according to the provisions contained in the Ordinance made and passed in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of His Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "*An Ordinance "to continue in force for a limited time an Ordinance made "in the twenty-fifth year of His Majesty's reign, intituled, An "ordinance to regulate the proceedings in the Court of Civil "Judicature and to establish Trials by Juries in actions of a "Commercial nature and personal wrongs to be compensated in "damages with such additional regulations as are expedient and "necessary*," shall not only contain the several matters required by the said Act but also that no offer has been made to pay in Army Bills the sum of money in such affidavit mentioned and therein sworn to for the purpose of obtaining such attachment. And if any process of attachment shall be issued upon which the estate debts and effects of any nature soever of any person or persons whomsoever in the hands of the owner of the debtor or of a third person, might have been attached prior to Trial and Judgment before the passing of

this Act, and no affidavit shall be made that no such offer of payment in Army Bills had been made as aforesaid, such attachment shall not be executed, and proceedings shall be had against the owner or owners of the estate debts or effects which might otherwise have been attached in the same manner as if no affidavit had been made for the purpose of obtaining an attachment under the provisions of the Ordinance last aforesaid. Provided always, that if affidavit shall be made upon which any attachment against the estate, debts and effects of any person or persons whomsoever in the hands of the owner of the debtor or of a third person, might have been obtained before the passing of this Act, and it shall likewise be sworn in such affidavit, that such offer of payment in Army Bills has been made as aforesaid so that such attachment which might have been obtained and issued if this Act had not been made, cannot by reason of such offer and of the provisions in this Act contained be so obtained or issued, it shall be lawful for the Court out of which the *Process ad Respondendum* in such case shall issue or for any Judge of such Court in a summary way in term or vacation, to order the defendant or defendants in the action in which such *Process ad Respondendum* shall issue, to cause such Army Bills as aforesaid to the amount of the sum of money for which such attachment might have issued if this Act had not been made, to be deposited in such manner as such Court or such Judge shall direct to answer the *demande* of the plaintiff or plaintiffs in such action. And if such deposit shall not be made within the time limited by such order, after such notice thereof as shall thereby be directed to be given, it shall be lawful upon affidavit duly made and filed, that such deposit has not been made according to such order to award and cause to be issued an attachment or attachments against the estate, debts and effects of any nature whatsoever of such defendant or defendants in such action in the hands of the owner, of the debtor, or of a third person prior to trial or

Proviso.

judgment, in such and the same manner, as if this Act had not been made.

On *Capias ad satisfaciendum* a deposit of the debt and costs in Army Bills shall stay proceedings.

X. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons against whom any Writ of *Capias ad Satisfaciendum* shall have issued out of any of His Majesty's Courts in this Province, shall deposit in the hands of the Sheriff to whom such Writ of *Capias ad Satisfaciendum* shall be addressed, the amount of the sum for which such *Capias ad satisfaciendum* shall have issued in Army Bills, such deposit so made, shall operate as a *supersedeas* of such Writ of *Capias ad satisfaciendum*, and it shall be lawful to and for the Court out of which such *Capias ad satisfaciendum* shall have issued, or for any Judge of such Court in a summary way upon affidavit duly made and filed that such deposit has been so made as aforesaid, forthwith to discharge such person or persons against whom such *Capias ad satisfaciendum* shall have issued, out of custody, and to direct and order such Army Bills to remain or be deposited in such manner as such Court or such Judge shall direct, to satisfy the judgment obtained by the plaintiff or plaintiffs in the action in which such *Capias ad satisfaciendum* shall have issued. And if such plaintiff or plaintiffs shall see fit to take up and receive such Army Bill so deposited, then and in such case and from thenceforth, the judgment obtained by such plaintiff or plaintiffs shall thereby be and for ever shall remain fully and entirely paid, discharged and satisfied, to all intents and purposes whatever. But if such plaintiff or plaintiffs shall not see fit to take up or receive such Army Bills so deposited, then and in such case such deposit of such Army Bills shall operate to stay all proceedings whatever in such action and upon such judgment until the expiration of five years from the passing of this Act, and from and after the expiration of five years from the passing of this Act and not before, process of execution shall be allowed and be issued for the satisfaction

of the principal sum of such judgment with interest thereon to the day on which such deposit of such Army Bills shall be so made and not after, in such and the same manner as if this Act had never been made, and such Army Bills so deposited, shall be returned and restored to the person or persons by whom the same shall have been so deposited.

On *Fieri Facias*, &c. a deposit of the debt and costs in Army Bills shall stay proceedings.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons against whose goods or chattels, lands or tenements, debts or credits, any Writ of *Fieri facias*, attachment, *Venditioni exponas* or other Writ of execution shall have issued after judgment, out of any of His Majesty's Courts in this Province, shall deposit in the hands of the sheriff to whom such Writ of *Fieri facias*, attachment, *Venditioni exponas* or other writ of execution shall be addressed, the amount of the sums for which such writ of *Fieri Facias*, attachment, *Venditioni exponas* or other writ of Execution shall have issued, in Army Bills, such deposit so made shall operate as a *supersedeas* of such Writ of *Fieri facias*, attachment, *Venditioni exponas*, or other Writ of execution, and it shall be lawful to and for the Court out of which such Writ of *Fieri facias*, attachment, *Venditioni exponas* or other Writ of execution shall have issued or for any Judge of such Court in a summary way upon affidavit duly made and filed that such deposit has been so made as aforesaid, forthwith to order *Main levée* of such Writ of *Fieri facias*, attachment, *Venditioni exponas* or other Writ of Execution, and to direct and order such Army Bills to remain or be deposited in such manner as such Court or such Judge shall direct, to satisfy the Judgment so obtained by the plaintiff or plaintiffs in the action in which such Writ of *Fieri facias*, attachment, *Venditioni exponas* or other Writ of execution shall have issued, and if such plaintiff or plaintiffs shall see fit to take up and receive such Army Bills so deposited, then and in such case and from thenceforth the judgment obtained by such plain-

tiff or plaintiffs shall thereby be and for ever shall remain fully and entirely paid, discharged and satisfied to all intents and purposes whatever. But if such plaintiff or plaintiffs shall not see fit to take up or receive such Army Bills so deposited, then and in such case, such deposit of such Army Bills shall operate to stay all proceedings whatever in such action, and upon such judgment until the expiration of five years from the passing of this Act, and from and after the expiration of five years from the passing of this Act, and not before process of execution shall be allowed and be issued for the satisfaction of the principal sum of such judgment with interest thereon to the day on which such deposit of such Army Bills shall be so made and not after, in such and the same manner as if this Act had never been made, and such Army Bills so deposited, shall be returned and restored to the person or persons by whom the same shall have been so deposited.

Relief for Bills lost or destroyed.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case proof shall be made on the oath or oaths of one or more credible Witness or Witnesses, before the Chief Justice or other Justices of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, or any of them in this Province, that any Army Bills shall by casualty or mischance have been lost, burnt, or otherwise destroyed before the same shall have been paid off and discharged; and if by such oath or oaths the numbers and sums of such Bill or Bills shall be correctly ascertained, and the said Chief Justice and other of the said Justices or any of them before whom such oath or oaths shall be made, shall certify that he or they are satisfied with such proof, then and in every such case the proprietor or possessor of such Bill or Bills shall be entitled to receive, on application at the Army Bill Office, another Bill or other Bills, bearing the same arithmetical number and value as the Bill or Bills so lost, burnt or destroyed. Provided that the person or persons

Proviso.

so receiving the money, do give security to the King, to the good liking of the person or persons appointed, or who shall be appointed as aforesaid, to pay off and take in the said Bills, to pay into the receipt of the Pay Master or Pay Masters of the Army Bill Office for the use of the Public, so much money as shall be paid upon such Certificate or Certificates, if the Bill or Bills so certified to be lost, burnt or destroyed, shall be thereafter produced.

Provincial security for ultimate payment of Army Bills.

XIII. And whereas there may be many persons desirous of coming forward in aid of His Majesty's Government, with the loan of monies, who, having no commercial concerns whereby to dispose of Bills of Exchange, and whom on that account may be deterred therefrom; for remedy thereof, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the expiration of five years after the passing of this Act, each and every holder of any and every such Army Bill as may then remain unpaid and unsatisfied, shall be entitled to receive out of and from the monies that then may be in the hands of the Receiver General of this Province, or from the first monies that may thereafter come into his hands arising out of any taxes or duties heretofore imposed or that may hereafter be imposed, levied or raised by virtue of any Act or Acts of the Provincial Legislature, or from the rents and revenues of His Majesty's Territorial Domains in this Province, the full amount of all such Army Bills in money, with the interest remaining due thereon.

Duty of the Receiver General on the receipt and payment of Army Bills.

XIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be the duty of the Receiver General of the Province, on receipt and payment of all or any of such Army Bills as aforesaid, to pay over the same [to] His Majesty's Commissary General for the time being, and to receive from him the amount thereof in Government Bills of Exchange, at the current rate of Exchange, or in Cash at the option of the said

Commissary General; and said Receiver General shall immediately thereafter render a true and exact account of all such payments and receipts to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government for the time being, in order that the same may be laid before the House of Assembly at the next Session thereafter.

The exportation of Specie and Bullion prohibited under penalty of forfeiture.

XV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that for and during the period of five years from the passing of this Act, no person whatever shall export or otherwise carry out of this Province, any Gold, Silver, or Copper Coin of any description whatsoever, or any molten Gold or Silver in any shape or shapes whatever; and if any person whatever shall export or otherwise carry out of this Province, or procure to be exported or otherwise carried out of this Province, or put on board of any ship, vessel or boat or into any land carriage, to be exported or otherwise carried out of this Province, or shall in any manner or way whatsoever attempt or endeavour to export or otherwise carry out of this Province, or attempt or endeavour to procure to be exported or otherwise carried out of this Province, any Gold, Silver or Copper Coin of any description whatever, or any molten Gold or Silver in any shape or shapes whatever, then, in each and every such case, such Gold, Silver and Copper Coin and such molten Gold and Silver shall be forfeited, one half to His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and one half to the person who shall sue for the same, and the same shall and may be seized, sued for, prosecuted, condemned and recovered in such Courts, and by such and the like ways, means and methods, and the produce thereof disposed of and applied in such and the like manner and to such and the like uses and purposes as any forfeiture incurred by any law respecting the Revenue of the Customs may now be seized, sued for, prosecuted, condemned or recovered, disposed of or applied.

XVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person whatever, who during the aforesaid period of five years from the passing of this Act, shall export or otherwise carry out of this Province, or procure to be exported or otherwise carried out of this Province, or shall put on board of any ship, or vessel or boat or into any land carriage to be exported or otherwise carried out of this Province, or shall in any manner or way whatsoever attempt or endeavour to export or otherwise carry out of this Province, or attempt or endeavour to procure to be exported or otherwise carried out of this Province, any Gold, Silver or Copper Coin of any description whatever, or any molten Gold or Silver, in any shape or shapes whatever, for every such offence, over and above the forfeiture of such Gold, Silver and Copper Coin, and of such molten Gold or Silver, if the same shall be seized, shall forfeit the sum of Two hundred Pounds, and double the value of such Gold, Silver and Copper Coin, and of such molten Gold and Silver, one half to His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and one half to the person who shall sue for the same, by bill, suit, action or information in any of his Majesty's Courts in this Province.

An action against the exporter of Specie or Bullion.

XVII. Provided always, and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that nothing in this Act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to any person leaving this Province, and carrying with him no greater or other sum than the sum of Ten Pounds, Sterling, in coin, and no molten Gold or Silver, in any shape or shapes whatever, save and except such further sum and such articles of plate as he, she, or they, by licence under the hand of the Governor, or Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government of this Province for the time being, shall be permitted and allowed to carry with him, her or them.

Not to prevent persons taking out of the Province the sum of £10, or such further sum &c. with licence from the Governor.

XVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any person taking a false oath in any case wherein

Penalty on persons convicted of perjury.

an oath is required to be taken by this Act, shall be deemed guilty of wilful and corrupt Perjury, and being thereof duly convicted, shall be liable to such pains and penalties, as by any Laws now in force, any persons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury, are subject and liable to.

Fines &c. to be paid into the hands of the Receiver General and to be accounted for to the Crown.

XIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the fines, forfeitures and penalties, by this Act imposed, except the part granted to informers, shall be paid into the hands of his Majesty's Receiver General of this Province, by the person or persons receiving the same, for the use of his Majesty, and shall be accounted for to the Crown, through the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury for the time being, as the Crown shall direct.

Limitation of actions.

XX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any action or suit shall be commenced against any person or persons for any thing done in pursuance of this Act, such action or suit shall be commenced within two years next after the offence shall have been committed, and not afterwards, and the defendant or defendants in such suit or action may plead the general issue, and give this Act and the special matter in evidence, at any trial to be had thereupon and that the same was done in pursuance of this Act; and if it shall appear so to have been done, then the Court shall find for the defendant or defendants, and if the plaintiff or plaintiffs shall be non-suited or discontinue his or their action, after the defendant or defendants shall have appeared, or if judgment shall be given against the plaintiff, the defendant or defendants shall and may recover treble costs, and have the like remedy for the same as defendants have in other cases by Law.

Archives, C. 329, p. 48.

[Endorsement] REPORT OF THE BOARD ASSEMBLED TO CONSIDER UPON THE BEST MODE FOR CARRYING INTO EFFECT THE PLAN FOR THE ARMY BILL OFFICE—AUGUST 1812.

(Copy)

May it please Your Excellency,

The Board to whom your Excellency has been pleased to refer the Consideration of the Establishment necessary for carrying into effect the proposed Plan for the issue of Army Bills respectfully report as follows :

1st. That an Office should be established immediately to be called the Army Bill Office, to consist of a Superintendent or Director with a Salary of £400 Currency per Annum, and £200 per Annum for Office Rent, Fuel, Stationary, Postage, a Messenger, and to defray all other Contingent Expences whatsoever.

That the said Director be allowed a Cashier, who is also to act as Clerk with a Salary of £200 per Annum, and £100 per Annum in lieu of all Allowances.—

That the Paymaster General be allowed £150 per Annum for a Clerk to perform the business connected with the said Army Bill Office :

That the Military Secretary be allowed a like Sum for the like purpose ;

That the Assistant Commissary General at Montreal be allowed a like Sum for the like purpose.

That the Receiver General of the Province be allowed a like Sum for the like purpose.—

That the above Salaries amounting to £1500, with £250 allowed for the printing of the Bills, amounting together to £1750, will in the opinion of the Board, cover the whole Expences of the Establishment for the first year.—

2nd. That whenever the Commissary General shall deem an issue of Army Bills necessary for the Public Service, he shall make

a Requisition for them to The Commander of the Forces, to such an Amount and of such a description as he may require.—

3rd. The Director after this Requisition has been laid before The Commander of the Forces for his approval, and as soon as the same is obtained, is to fill up the numbers of the Bills, and to enter them together with their Amount in the Margin of the Checque Book, and to sign them under the word "Entered."—

A separate Book is also to be kept by him, in which similar Entries are to be made and in which the cancelling of the Bills as they are returned for payment is to be noted.—

4th. The Bills when signed by the Director, are to be sent to the Military Secretary, to be by him also signed and entered, after which they are to be laid by him, and the Director before The Commander of the Forces for his Signature.—

5th. The Bills being so far compleated are to be on the same day delivered by the Director to the Commissary General, who is to give his accountable Receipt for them.—

6th. The Director of the Army Bill Office will receive from The Commander of the Forces a general Authority to sign such Four-dollar-Bills as may be included in the Requisition of the Commissary General for Army Bills to be approved as aforesaid, which Bills after being signed by the Director, and dated and entered by the Cashier, with the signature of such Cashier under the word "Entered" are to be sent with the other Army Bills to the Military Secretary to be countersigned by him and entered, and being thus compleated, are to be delivered at the same time with the Army Bills, signed by The Commander of the Forces to the Commissary General.—

7th. The Bills will then be placed by the Commissary General as Cash in the hands of the Paymaster General to be by him deposited in the Military Chest, to answer the Warrants and Checques which may be drawn upon him for the Public Service.—

8th. Whenever the Paymaster General shall have occasion to pay away the said Bills in discharge of such Warrants or Checques, or for any other Public purpose whatever, he shall previous thereto fill up the dates and time of issue of the said Bills above Four Dollars, furnishing the Director of the Army Bill Office at the end of each day, a correct List of the same, and shall also enter the numbers, dates, and Amounts of the said Bills in a Book to be kept for that purpose.

9th. Upon Application being made at the Army Bill Office, for Bills of Exchange in payment of Army Bills returned, the Director is to calculate the interest due upon such Bills, from the day of their date & issue, as furnished him by the Paymaster General, and is to pay the Amount of such Interest to the Holders of the Bills, and also to send a notice to the following effect.—To the Commissary General, "Bills of Exchange are required in favor of for "for Army Bills to that Amount returned for payment and herewith sent."

10th. The Commissary General is to give Bills of Exchange at the Rate of Exchange fixed during that Fortnight to the Holders of the Army Bills thus returned, and to cancel those Bills by cutting off the name of the Commander of the Forces.—

11th. The Bills thus Cancelled are to be returned to the Army Bill Office, there to be Entered as Cancelled in both Bill-Books and afterwards filed.—

12th. Should any Army Bills of Twenty five dollars and upwards remain unpaid for a period of Six Months or more, the Director of the Army Bill Office is to pay to the Holders of them the half yearly Interest accruing upon them, upon their application for the same.—

13th. Upon application being made at the Army Bill Office by the Holder of any Army Bills of Four Dollars for

payment thereof, the Director is to pay the same in Cash ;— The said Bills are not to be cancelled by him, but are to be deposited by the Director in his Chest, in order to answer any future Requisition of the Commissary General for Bills of that description, when they are to be again issued under the Authority of The Commander of the Forces, and the Director is at the end of each day on which he shall have paid the said Bills to send a List of the numbers, dates, and the Amount of the Bills so paid to the Commissary General.—

14th. The Rate of Exchange is to be declared every fortnight, Vizt. on the 9th and 24th of each Month by the persons to be nominated by The Commander of the Forces for that purpose, who are to send such declaration in Duplicate, the One to the Military Secy. to be laid before The Commander of the Forces, and the other to the Commissary General, and the said Rate of Exchange is to be delivered as fixed from the 10th to the 24th of each month, both days inclusive.

15th. The Director and Cashier of the Army Bill Office are within seven days from the date of their respective appointments to give Security for the faithful performance of the trust to be reposed in them ; The said Director in £5000, and his Two Sureties in £2,500 each, And the said Cashier in £1000, and his Two Sureties in £500 each.

16th. The Director will from time to time receive from His Excellency The Governor in Chief, Warrants upon the Receiver General for such Sums as may be deemed necessary to discharge the Interest accruing upon the said Army Bills, an account of which Sums together with those paid by him for Interest on the said Bills, he is to keep in a Book for that purpose, making also an Entry of the payment of such Interest in the Checque Book.—

17th. The Director will also receive from The Commander of the Forces a Warrant upon the Commissary General for the Amount in Cash of such Army Bills of Four Dollars

each, as the Commissary General shall have included in his Requisition, in order to enable him to discharge the same when presented to the Army Bill Office for payment, an Account of which Sums together with those paid in discharge of such Bills, he is also to enter in a separate Book to be kept for that purpose.—

The Board further beg leave respectfully to report to your Excellency, that in Order to give Publicity to the proposed Plan for the issue of Army Bills, and to remove any doubt respecting the validity of the Four Dollar Bills, from the Circumstance of their not being signed by your Excellency as the Bills for Twenty-five Dollars and upwards will be, They conceive it necessary that Public Notice should be given by Proclamation or otherwise of the Establishment of the said Army Bill Office, of the appointment of the Director and Cashier, and of the Authority given by Your Excellency to the Director to sign the said Army Bills for Four Dollars each, together with the Provisions of the Act for the more effectual Circulation of Army Bills.—

(signed) W. H. Robinson.
(„) John Hale.
(„) John Mure.
(„) E. B. Brenton.

Quebec 1st August 1812.

Archives, G. 5, p. 146.

From Earl Bathurst, Downing St., to Prevost at ——.

Duplicate
Circular

Downing Street
1st August 1812

Sir,

I transmit to you herewith a Copy of an Order of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Council dated the 31st. July 1812, directing that all Ships and Vessels belonging to the United States of America, now within, or which may hereafter arrive within, the limits of any of the Ports, Harbours,

or Roads of any of His Majesty's Forts or Settlements Abroad, should be detained together with all Persons and Effects on Board the said Ships and Vessels. And I am to desire you will take effectual Measures for carrying the same into Execution within your Government.

I am
Sir,
Your Most Obedient
Humble Servant
Bathurst.

Archives, G. 5, p. 159.

From Bathurst, Downing Street, to Prevost at ——.

N°. 5 Downing Street
10 August 1812

Sir,

. . . Since the Date of the Letter, which I addressed to you on the 4th July, His Royal Highness The Prince Regent has received the Intelligence that The President of the United States has declared War against this Country.

As His Royal Highness's Intentions in regard to the Repeal of the Orders in Council were not known in America at the time that the Declaration of War was issued, His Royal Highness still retains an anxious hope that our amicable Relations with the United States may shortly be restored on a permanent Basis.

But whilst His Royal Highness anticipates with undisguised satisfaction the Renewal of a friendly intercourse with America, he can contemplate without apprehension the Continuance of the present Hostilities. . . .

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Most Obedient
Humble Servant
Bathurst

Archives, G. 56, p. 246.

From Bathurst, Downing Street, to Brock at ——.

N°. 4

Downing Street 10th Augt 1812.

Sir,

Your dispatches of the dates and numbers mentioned in the Margin have been received and laid before The Prince Regent. N°.4.23dMarch 5. 6.

His Royal Highness observed with great satisfaction the vigilance with which your attention had been directed to such measures of precaution and preparation, as appeared best calculated to give effect to the united efforts of the Loyal Inhabitants of the Province under your command, in the event of active measures being required to repel any actual aggression from the United States; and His Royal Highness is confident that your Zeal and Activity have increased, in proportion as the American Government has continued to give indications of that unfriendly disposition, which has at length produced an open declaration of Hostility.

In the event of any Military operation being directed against Upper Canada, you will receive immediate support and assistance from Sir George Prevost, with whom I am satisfied you have omitted no means of concert and communication which the good of the service may have suggested.

The liberal appropriations which have been made by the Legislatures of both Provinces to meet the expenses of the occasion; and the determined spirit of resistance manifested by the Loyal Inhabitants, leave little apprehension of the result of any trial in which they may be called to prove their Courage and perseverance.

I am,
Sir
Your most obedient
Humble Servant
Bathurst.

Archives, C. 116, p. 278.

From Commissary General W. H. Robinson at Quebec to Prevost at ——.

Com^{y}. General's Office,
Quebec 11th Sept. 1812.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency a Copy of a letter from Commissary Gen^{l}. Bissett, dated at Fuentes Guinaldo 13th May 1812, Marked "Secret," which I this morning received by the Post from Halifax under a Cover from the Commissary in Chief, from whom however I have no communication upon the important subject of M^{r}. Bissett's letter. I therefore beg leave to submit to your Excellency the propriety of my immediately taking steps to comply with this requisition for Flour. I believe I can procure in a short time about Six thousand barrels, & if not I can ship a great part of that quantity from my Magazines & have it replaced in time to answer all purposes here. The difficulty will be to find freight & convoy. I should propose that two or three of the Transports now lying in the S^{t}. Lawrence be appropriated to that service & that application be made to the Admiral for an Armed Vessel to see them safe to Lisbon.

I had hoped that Capt. Scott of H.M.S. Morgiana just arrived with £14,000 Cur^{y}. from Halifax, which I have great satisfaction in reporting to Your Excellency, would have been induced upon my representation to wait your commands & that it would have been in your power to have detained the Morgiana a few days to take the Transports to Halifax from whence they could have received safe conduct to Lisbon; but he informs me his orders are positive to sail in Forty eight hours after his arrival. He will however remain till Monday morning in order to convoy a Vessel I am now loading with Provisions for Halifax.

I request Your Excellency's early Instruction upon this

matter which no doubt may be of the greatest consequence to our Armies on the Peninsula, and the Season is fast advancing.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your Excellency's
Most obedient
humble Servant
W. H. Robinson,
Com^{y}. Gen^{l}.

Archives, C. 116, p. 281.

Enclosure. From Commissary General Bissett at Fuentes Guinaldo to Robinson at Quebec.

Copy
Secret.

Fuentes Guinaldo,
13th May 1812.

Sir,

As I learn that the Americans from whom we have hitherto drawn very considerable supplies of Flour have ordered an embargo on the different Ports of the United States; I am desirous of availing myself of any quantity of this Article which you may be able to procure and send to us from Canada, & I have to request in consequence that you will do all that you possibly can to procure some & send it immediately to Lisbon consigned to the Commissary General of the Army in this Country. I mention no specific quantity because you will not have it in your power to send too much & my chief apprehension is the want of shipping to send what you may be able to procure; The Earl of Wellington however will write to the Secretary of State on the subject of having Vessels sent out to you, & I shall also address myself to the Commissary in Chief with the same view, & that he may likewise communicate with you on this important point.

As to the manner of paying for what you may send, I can only say, it is most desirable if possible that the payment should not be left to us, or at all events if it is ; that a stipulation should be made for our giving Bills on England under a Condition that they should not be negotiated either in Spain or Portugal.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obed^{t} Serv^{t}
(signed) J. Bissett
C. G^{l}

Archives, Lower Canada State Papers.

Proclamation.

Province of Lower Canada.

George Prevost.

George the Third by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith and so forth—

To all to whom these Presents shall Come or may in any wise Concern.—Greeting,

Whereas the Exportation of Corn, Grain, Flour, Biscuit and Salted Provisions from Our Province of Lower Canada, may at this time prove Injurious and prejudicial to the Interests of Our said Province and of Our Empire at large.—We Have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of Our Executive Council of Our said Province of Lower Canada, to Issue this Our Royal Proclamation and to Order and We Do hereby Order that an Embargo be forthwith laid on Biscuit, Flour, Grain and Salted Provisions, and to Continue in force Until the Tenth Day of December next.—Provided always, that Nothing in this Proclamation Contained shall extend, or be Construed to extend to any Corn, Grain, Flour, Biscuit or Salted Provisions of any description or denomination what-

soever, which shall be Bonafide shipped for the Supply of Our Land or Naval Forces, Under Licences from Our Governor in Chief, in and over Our said Province of Lower Canada, Under his Hand and Seal at arms for that purpose first had and obtained.—In Testimony whereof We Have Caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Our said Province of Lower Canada to be hereunto affixed.—Witness Our Trusty and Well Beloved Sir George Prevost, Baronet, Our Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over Our Provinces of Lower Canada, Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and their several Dependencies, Vice Admiral of the same, Lieutenant General and Commander of All Our Forces in the said Provinces, and in the Islands of Newfoundland, Prince Edward, Cape Breton and Bermuda, &c^{a}. &c^{a}. &c^{a}., at Our City of Montreal, in Our said Province, the sixth Day of October, In the Year of Our Lord Christ One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twelve and of Our Reign the Fifty Second.—

G. P.

Jn^{o}. Taylor
Dep. Secy.

Archives, C. 688b, p. 132.

At a Committee of His Majestys Executive Council held at the Bishops Palace in the City of Quebec the 17 day of October 1812

Present

The Chief Justice	Mr. Kerr
M^{r}. Dunn	M^{r}. Perceval
M^{r}. Baby	M^{r}. Muir
M^{r}. Williams	M^{r}. Perreault

The Committee having taken into their Consideration the Three several Petitions of Mess^{rs}. Grant & Greenshield, Brehaut and Shepherd and William Raeburn praying leave to

export Corn Grain and provisions are humbly of opinion that the prayer of these Petitions ought not to be granted—

Signed by order
J. Sewell Chairman.

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP I (*continued*)

PREPARATION, 1801–1812—NAVAL

Archives, C. 373, p. 23.

RETURN OF SIX GUN BOATS WITH THEIR MATERIALS, IN CHARGE OF THE QUARTER MASTER GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT AT QUEBEC.

GUN BOATS.	No.	Masts.	Yards.	Sails.	Anchors.	Cablets.	Spruce Oars.	Ash Oars.	Grummets.	Rudder & Tiller.	Pumps.	Pump spear.	Magazine Chest.	Gun slides & Carriages.	Boat Hooks.	Iron Travellers.	Iron Thole Pins.	Hand spikes.	Setts of Halliards.	Sheets.	Gun Tackles.	Buckets.	Lanthorns.
	1	2	2	2	1	1	26	...	26	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	26	4	2	2	1	2	1
	2	2	2	2	1	1	26	...	26	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	26	4	2	2	...	2	...
	3	2	2	2	1	1	26	...	26	1	1	1	1	1	...	2	26	4	2	2	...	2	...
	4	2	2	2	1	1	...	26	...	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	26	4	...	...	...	2	...
	5	2	2	2	1	1	...	26	...	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	26	4	...	...	...	2	...
	6	2	2	2	1	1	...	26	...	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	26	...	...	...	...	2	...
Total	6	12	12	12	6	6	78	78	78	6	6	6	6	6	8	6	156	20	6	6	1	12	1

A. H. Pye, Dy. QMG:

Quarter Master Generals Office
Quebec 19th June 1811.

Archives, C. 373, p. 26

Return of the Effective Strength of the Provincial Marine on the Rivers and Lakes in Canada, as per Returns last Received.

Lakes, &c[a].	Master & Commander.	1st Lieutenants.	2nd Lieutenants.	Mates.	Boatswains.	Carpenters.	Seamen.	Master Builder.	Foreman of Artificers.	Blacksmith.
Schooner St. Lawrence	1	...	...	1	...	...	10	...	...	...
Lake Ontario . .	1	3	1	...	4	2	32	1	1	...
Lake Erie . .	1	2	1	...	2	2	34	1	...	1
Fort George . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Saint Johns . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total .	3	5	2	1	6	4	77	2	2	1

Quebec 21st June 1811.

A. H. Pye,
Dy. QMG:

Archives, C. 373, p. 28.

Return of His Majesty's Provincial Marine on the Rivers & Lakes in the Upper & Lower Canada.

Quebec 16th Septr. 1811

	N°. of Guns.				
	Short 4 Pounders.	Carronades. 32 Pound Caronad.	24 D°.	18 D°.	12 D°.
River St. Lawrence, Schooner St. Lawrence	8	...	...	...	...
Lake Ontario — Ship Royal George	...	20	...	...	...
Lake Ontario — Ship Earl Moira .	...	...	...	10	...
Lake Ontario — Schooner Duke of Gloucester .	...	...	...	...	10
Lake Erie — Ship Queen Charlotte .	...	...	16	...	...
Lake Erie — Schooner Genl. Hunter	...	...	...	...	10
Total . .	8	20	16	10	20

Six Gun Boat at Quebec, lately repaired, but not yet Armed.

N.B.—The Carronades for the Queen Charlotte & Royal George are on their way up except Six 24 pounders that were brought back to Arm the Gun Boats. The Royal George has at present Twenty Short 12 pounders and the Queen Charlotte 14 Twelve p^{r}. Caronades.

A H Pye
D^{y}. QMG:

Archives, C. 373, p. 29.

REPORT ON THE PROVINCIAL MARINE OF THE CANADAS

The superintendance of the Provincial Marine forms an extensive branch of the Quarter Master Generals department in the Canadas. During the American war it was much more extensive than at present; there being a Naval force on Lake Champlain, of which nothing remains at present except the hulk of a vessel called the Royal Edward which is of no service whatever except furnishing an excuse for pensioning an old seaman who receives pay for the nominal charge of her. The Establishments on Lakes Erie & Ontario, however, are still of consequence; each being under the Superintendance of an Officer of the Quarter Master Generals department, who have their residence at Amherstburgh & Kingston where the Docks Yards are at present situated. The business on which the vessels are employed in time of peace is the transporting Troops & Government stores to the several posts in the Upper Province, & the nature of that business seems to point out the expediency of their being of a shallow draft & small, especially those that are to go to S^{t}. Josephs altho' the exigency of the times & the attempt on the part of the Americans to produce Vessels of great strength & dimensions obliged us to adopt a similar measure, which at

times is attended with much inconvenience. For the Queen Charlotte on Lake Erie calculated to carry 16, 24 Pound Carronades & the Royal George on Lake Ontario calculated for 20, 32 pound Carronades tho' built as shallow as possible as to their draft of Water are however not sufficiently so to answer the intention, with the evident disadvantage of deficiency in the point of stowage & inability of working upon a wind. It would therefore be evidently expedient unless there was an ennemy of equal or superior force to be dreaded to have the service carried on by schooners from 120 *to* 160 *Tons* burthen built on the corvette plan & calculated when armed to carry from 10 to 14 Guns & not to exceed nine & half feet draft of water. Vessels of that class would answer both the purposes of Transport or War having more capacity for their size than the larger Vessels in the former qualification & in the latter being almost equal to them from the superior ease in manœuvring & their small draft of water; particularly in the confined & shallow situations they would be most likely to be employed in. Those on Lake Erie particularly whose services are called for occasionally on the River S^{t}. Clair & the Lakes Huron & Michigan. Besides which they could be better managed by such men as are usually attached to them, the larger vessels necessarily requiring a proportion of able seamen.

say 60 to 80 Tons.

The force at present on the Lakes is as follows.

On Lake Erie

The Ship Cambden. Declared by a board of survey to be incapable of going to sea & even unfit to lodge the seamen during the winter.

The Ship Queen Charlotte. Quite new, but merely calculated for the service of Lake Erie itself, from her great draft of water.

The Schooner General Hunter. The only really serviceable vessel on the Lake, is falling fast into decay.

I would therefore venture to point out the expediency of immediately laying down a schooner to prevent the communication by the river S^{t}. Clair from being cut off.

On Lake Ontario

The Snow Duke of Kent. Now solely used in Winter as a barrack for the seamen & incapable of repair.

The Ship Earl of Moira. Requiring a thorough repair.

The Ship Royal George. New, but attended with the inconvenience of too great draft of water.

The Schooner Duke of Gloucester. The most useful vessel on the lake will shortly require to be replaced especially if the Civil Government do not procure a vessel for their service she being at present in their employ.

The Dock Yards at Amherstburgh & Kingston have each a Master Builder with establishments perfectly adequate to the purposes of Building, repairing, & laying up the vessels; but the latter in the event of a War is so near the ennemy's country, so open to attack & difficult to defend without an expence beyond the required object & a force beyond what could be spared, that it has been considered a matter of expediency to remove the Naval establishment altogether from Kingston to some more safe & convenient place & York the capital of Upper Canada has been generally thought to combine in a greater degree than any other spot the desired qualities of convenience & safety. As to the particular situation in which the Naval establishment should, there, be placed, there are of course various opinions; but I am strongly against its being either on Gibraltar point or the spit connecting with it; & the spot pointed out to Gen^{l}. Simcoe by the late Captain Baker, & approved by the former certainly appears the most advisable in every point of view, excepting what regards the marsh behind it.

Having said thus much on the removal of the establishment, I think it right to mention a subject nearly connected with its very existence. From experience we know that the average time of a Vessels duration on the Lakes may be averaged at eight years, & tho' many plans have been devised for preserving & seasoning timber a reference to facts would prove that of the quantity laid in for some Years back, the far greater proportion has decayed in the experiment & consequently been lost. I have witnessed even *boards* that with every external appearance of being sound were on examination defective within, & tho' much enquiry was made & many plans have been proposed & tried, it has been generally necessary to build the vessels with green timber.—On the Moira however an experiment was made which tho' attended with all possible success, was not repeated because attended with a trifling additional expense & that was, filling up the whole space between the sheathing with salt.

When at Kingston, I had occasion to unsheath her in part on account of some necessary repairs & on examination found the timbers as perfectly sound & free from decay as the day they were first put in.—Vessels however that are built of red cedar have been found to last longer than those built of oak & it would be but little more expence & trouble to procure as much of that kind of timber as the service might require.

I have before mentioned that the superintendance of the marine on the lakes was vested in two Officers of the Quarter Master General's Department. I hope I shall not be thought as stepping beyond the rules of discretion if I venture to represent for the consideration of His Excellency The Commander of the Forces, the difference of emolument that exists with regard to those Officers whose situation is attended with arduous duty & heavy responsability, when compared with that of the Officers of the same rank in the

department whose duties are only occasional & almost without any responsability whatever.

The remaining part of the marine establishment in charge of the Quarter Master General's department consists in an armed Schooner for the service of the river below Quebec Six Gun Boats & the Batteaux used for the Transport of Troops & Goods to & from the Upper Province.

The Schooner S^{t}. Lawrence is calculated to carry 10 Guns & if properly armed with twelve pound carronades & furnished with a british crew, would be a formidable vessel of her class, & the Gun Boats when altered according to the plan proposed will be fully competent for any service for which they may be required.

In the above I have endeavoured to lay before His Excellency the Commander of the Forces all that I consider worthy of notice concerning the Provincial Marine of these two Provinces. Should it be found deficient I hope it will be attributed to my fear of obtruding my own particular opinions, where my own knowledge & the best intelligence I could procure should be my sole guides.

A H Pye,
D^{y}. QMG:

Quebec, Dec^{r} 7th 1811.

In addition to the above I beg to represent for the consideration of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces the want of a sufficient number of Boats for the service of the Department at this Port; by which the Service, during the time the Navigation is open is materially cramped, & often impeded. There being at present only one six oared cutter, for which there is a permanent crew of One Corporal & three Privates who besides, have other duties in the Department & Another boat of the same description ordered by his Excellency to be laid down. I will at the same time

presume to represent the situation of the only Clerk in the Office at Quebec, where the business, at all times arduous & complicated has been much increased since the new arrangements have been made. Yet the habit acquired in a servitude of TWENTY ONE YEARS in that situation enables the person now occupying it to fulfil the duties of the situation with precision, & I will venture to add, zeal & fidelity. But as increasing years, may bring on increasing infirmity & disable him from the constant attendance which he is now able to give & in case of failure on his part the business would be much impeded in what regards the common routine of the Office, I would represent for his Excellency's consideration whether it might not be expedient to admit of his having an assistant who by becoming acquainted with the business would in case of his failure be enabled to succeed him. At the same time I should not think it justice to the long & faithful service I have had the honor of representing to his Excellency's notice, if I did not add for his consideration the very limited salary at present attached to it.—

A H Pye,
Dy QMG:

Quebec Decr 9th 1811.

[*Pencil Notes*]

[*To* the Schooner General Hunter] A Vessel to be laid down to replace this Schooner.

[Duke of Kent] to be fitted as recommended.

[Duke of Gloucester] A Vessel to be laid down to replace the Duke of Gloucester.

Archiv

Proposed Establishment of the Provincial Mari
Canada, for the Year One thousa

Lakes.	Vessels.	Officers Names.
St. Johns	Schooner Rl. Edward *entirely useless*	Seamen
Lake Ontario	Ship Royal George	John Steel Theope. Sampson Boatswain Carpenter Seamen
	Ship Earl of Moira	Hugh Earle George Smith Boatswain Carpenter Seamen
The Schr Prince Regent of 80 Tons carrying 10 Guns has been added to this Lake in 1812.	Schooner Duke of Gloucester	Francis Gauvreau Boatswain Carpenter Seamen
Kingston	Sheer Hulk.	Boatswain John Dennis Donald McKay
Lake Erie	Brig Queen Charlotte	Alexander Grant George B. Hall Boatswain Carpenter Seamen
The Schooner Lady Prevost of 80 Tons carrying 10 Guns has been added to this Lake in 1812.	Schooner Genl. Hunter	Thomas Barwis Frederick Rolette Boatswain Carpenter Seamen
Amherstburg Fort George		William Bell Blacksmith John McFarland
For the Navigation of the River St. Lawrence	Schooner St. Lawrence	James Paterson Mate Seamen

First Lieutt. P. M. Fortier retired on half Pay of 4/6 pr. day, from the 25th February 1810 . .
Mrs. Elih Andrews, Widow of the late Captn. Andrews lost in the Ship Ontario in the Year 1780
Pension per Annum . . . . . .
Mrs. Jane Paxton, Widow of the late Lieutt. Paxton, lost in the Speedy on Lake Ontario in 1804
Pension per Annum . . . . . .

Total . .

[Note]—13 *Gunboats with 12's & 24 pounders have been added to this Establishment for the River St. Lawrence & Lake Ontario in* 1812.

Total Establishment.
Three Masters and Commanders.
Five 1st Lieutenants.
Two 2nd Lieutenants & Mates.
One Mate.
Six Boatswains.
Five Carpenters.
One hundred and five Seamen.
Two Master Builders.
Two Foremen of Artificers.
One Blacksmith.

728, p. 60.

EPARTMENT for the LAKES and RIVERS in UPPER and LOWER
ght hundred and Twelve

mander.	1st Lieutenants.	2nd Lieutenants & Mates.	Mates.	Boatswains.	Carpenters.	Seamen.	Master Builder.	Foreman of Artificers.	Blacksmith.	Tonnage.	Pay per Day. Currency @ 5/-.	Pay per Day. Sterling @ 4/8.	Pay per Lunar Month. Currency @ 5/-.	Pay per Lunar Month. Currency Dolls. @ 5/-.	Total pr Lunar Month. Currency Dolls. @ 5/-.	Total Amounts pr Annum. Currency Dolls. @ 5/-.
..	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	147	...	...	40/-	2 0 0	2 0 0	26 2 10⅞
1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10/6	...	...	14 14 0		
..	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7/-	...	...	9 16 0		
..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2/6	...	...	3 10 0		
..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4/-	...	...	5 12 0		
..	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	40/-	50 0 0		
															83 12 0	1092 15 5½
..	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	130	7/-	...	...	9 16 0		
..	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5/-	...	...	7 0 0		
..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2/6	...	...	3 10 0		
..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4/-	...	...	5 12 0		
..	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	40/-	30 0 0		
															55 18 0	730 13 10⅜
..	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	65	7/-	...	...	9 16 0		
..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2/6	...	...	3 10 0		
..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4/-	...	...	5 12 0		
..	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	40/-	20 0 0		
															38 18 0	508 9 6
..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2/6	...	...	3 10 0	3 10 0	45 15 0
..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	10/-	...	...	14 0 0	14 0 0	183 0 0
..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	5/-	...	...	7 0 0	7 0 0	91 10 0
1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	10/6	...	...	14 14 0		
..	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7/-	...	...	9 16 0		
..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2/6	...	...	3 10 0		
..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4/-	...	...	5 12 0		
..	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	40/-	50 0 0		
															83 12 0	1092 15 5½
..	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	7/-	...	...	9 16 0		
..	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5/-	...	...	7 0 0		
..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2/6	...	...	3 10 0		
..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4/-	...	...	5 12 0		
..	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	40/-	30 0 0		
															55 18 0	730 13 10⅜
.	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	10/-	...	...	14 0 0	14 0 0	183 0 0
.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	4/-	...	6 0 0	6 0 0	78 8 6⅝
.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	5/-	...	...	7 0 0	7 0 0	91 10 0
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	7/6	...	...	10 10 0	10 10 0	137 5 0
.	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4/-	...	...	...	...	42 16 0
.	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	2/-	*Pr day during the Navigation from 1st May to 30th Novr.*			...	299 12 0
.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	82 7 0
.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25 0 0
.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25 0 0
	5	2	1	6	5	105	2	2	1							£5466 14 6¾

AMOUNTING to Five thousand four hundred Sixty Six pounds fourteen Shillings and Six Pence ¾d. pr. Annum Currency Dollars @ 5/-.

Approved
GEORGE PREVOST,
Genl. Commr. of the Forces.

By His Excellency's Command
NOAH FREER,
Mily. Secretary.

QUEBEC 30th August 1811.
A. H. PYE,
Dy. QMG:

Archives, C. 728, p. 77.

From Captain A. Gray, Acting Deputy Quarter Master General, to Sir George Prevost.

York 29th Jany 1812.

Dear Sir,

I arrived safe at this place on the evening of the 27th, and delivered the money I was entrusted with to Mr. Selby. The weather has been extremely unfavorable, having been exceedingly cold, or snowing, all the way from Montreal to York. From Montreal to Kingston occupied 6 Days, and from Kingston to York 5 Days.

On my arrival at Kingston I inspected the state of the Marine, and have the honor to communicate the following particulars for your Excellency's information.

The Royal George lays along-side the Wharf dismantled, and her Rigging laid up in the Sail loft, and reported to be all in good order, and in readiness to refit at the shortest notice; But it is a singular circumstance that they have as yet found no way of mounting the Carronades sent up last summer to arm this, and the other Vessels upon the Lakes. This difficulty arises from the construction of the Slide upon which the Carronade is mounted. This is upon a new principle, and is rather complicated, being of a nature not at all self-evident as appears from the variety of opinions that prevail as to its object, and utility; there ought therefore to have been a Plan and description of the Slide sent along with them. Major Fuller says in his justification that he has written to Quebec for information on this subject, but received no answer. I shall remove this difficulty on my return to Kingston—

Little is done to the Moira, further than preparing materials, as they say they waited Orders from Quebec as to lengthening her. There has not however been much time

lost, as the weather has been very severe. I found upon examining the Vessel that it would not be advisable to lengthen her; as, notwithstanding the process of salting, many of the Timbers are Rotten, and must be taken out, and what is at this moment of great importance, She could not be got ready in time if lengthened. One of the chief objects in lengthening her was to increase her Battery; but this we can do to a certain extent without, as by new spacing the distances of the Ports, one Gun may be added on each side. I have therefore ordered them to proceed immediately with the repairs, and have her ready to sail the moment the Lake is open, which they have promised shall be done.

There is every inducement to build the new Schooner at York, as exclusive of the arguments already adduced in favor of establishing the Naval Yard at this place, there are the following considerations which are of great importance at this moment—first, They have as much to do at Kingston as they can get through with at present, in fitting out the Moira and mounting the Carronades &c. It would therefore extend our resources in Ship Building, if we could at the same time carry on the work at both places. This would also have the effect of paving the way for the removal of the Marine Depot from Kingston to this place, a change greatly to be desired. The Toronto having been broken up here, furnishes an immediate supply of Iron Work, and a variety of other articles that may be worked up in the new Vessel, and in addition to what may be supplied by this means, there is a considerable assortment of Naval Stores appropriated to what is termed the Civil Service of the Province. This store Gen[l]. Brock will use as the service may require. I have gone round the Harbour with the General, and have examined, as far as the season of the year would admit of it, the different places pointed out as favorable for building a Vessel, and find there will be no difficulty on that head. The Gen[l]. proposes putting the superintendance of the Work into the hands of the

person who commanded the Toronto, who seems to be every way qualified for the task of Building, and commanding the New Schooner.

The Officers serving in this Division of the Province are in some instances extremely in-efficient, and in short totally unfit for the Situations they hold, particularly the D^{y}. Ass^{t}. Q^{r}. M^{r}. Gen^{l}. and Senior Naval Officer. The former Gen^{l}. Brock has it in contemplation to remove to York, as soon as your Excellency has fixed upon a proper person to succeed him. This arrangement will be advantageous to Major Fuller, a circumstance which is not to be regretted, as there is nothing to be urged against him but his incapacity, and unfitness for the situation he has unfortunately been placed in. The General has no Officer here that he can recommend for the situation, nor does he know of more than one man in the Lower Province that he thinks is fit for it. The Gent^{n}. the General recommends is Capt^{n}. King of the Artillery. He speaks very favorably of this Gent^{n}. and from what I have heard of his professional character and abilities from other sources, I most readily unite with the General in recommending him to your Excellency as a fit person to succeed Major Fuller. If this measure meets your Excellency's approbation, the sooner the appointment is made the better, as there is great need of a *Man of energy, and One who can be trusted at Kingston.* This subject I shall have the honor of explaining more at large on my return.

Capt^{n}. Steel, Senior Naval Officer, has sent in his resignation, praying to retire on full pay, which I hope may be granted him, as he has been almost half a Century in the Service, and is now in his 75th Year. The next in Rank to Capt^{n}. Steel is Lieu^{t}. Earle, commander of the Moira, who is an excellent Seaman, and from all I can learn every way fit to succeed Capt^{n}. Steel. I speak from my own experience, as well as from the opinion entertained of him by Gen^{l}. Brock and others who have sailed with him.

Gen^{l}. Brock is likewise anxious to get rid of the old Commodore on Lake Erie. This Gent^{n}. has likewise been above 50 years in the Service, and is 85 years of age. The next in Seniority is Lieu^{t}. Hall, who is in every respect a proper person to succeed Capt^{n}. Grant. I have had the same opportunities of obtaining a knowledge of his Character, and talents, that I had of L^{t}. Earle's, and consider him in all respects equally deserving Promotion.

These arrangements (should they meet your Excellency's approbation) General Brock conceives will enable him to accomplish every object connected with the Department, as far as those individuals are concerned, as he has a favorable opinion of Lieu^{t}. Dewar, and thinks he will meet with support equal to his wishes on both Lakes.—

I have communicated to General Brock an Extract from the Letter I had the honor to write your Excellency from Montreal, relative to the protection of the Trade of the N. West and S. West Companies. The General most perfectly concurrs in the ideas submitted in that Letter, and has directed me to communicate to you his anxious wish that the Post of S^{t}. Joseph might be removed to the falls of S^{t}. Mary. In short the General's Policy, and plan of Defence, agrees so exactly with the ideas I had formed, previously to my communicating with him, that I can be at no loss in giving your Excellency every information on that head on my return, it may not therefore be necessary to enter more into details at present.

I propose remaining here till after the House of Assembly has met, which will be about a week from this day. I am induced to make this stay in order that I may obtain more accurate information on several points connected with our Defences &^{c}. as men of information will then be collected from all parts of the country. I shall also have an opportunity of seeing how they go on. I do not imagine my stay at Kingston need exceed 3 or 4 Days, as by building the Schooner

here, the business of the Department at that station is considerably diminished—I have also the hope of meeting Lieu^{t}. Dewar before my departure from hence, as he has obtained leave to come to York, this will afford me the opportunity of giving him more ample instructions as to the Duties of the Department, than I could by Letter. There is likewise some interesting information received respecting Detroit which he and Col. Elliot (who is also expected) will be enabled to confirm—It seems the Americans are collecting a vast quantity of Ordnance at that post, which with other indications, pretty clearly manifest their intentions in that quarter.

The grant of Land to the Glengarry Reg^{t}. is a subject upon which Gen^{l}. Brock intends to write you as he fears this measure will create embarassment, and prove a precedent which cannot be followed up for want of Land to grant ; and if not followed, there will not be a man got for the service in future. The General has an idea that corps upon the principles contained in the sketch I brought him, might easily be procured for the Defence of our frontiers, without any expectation of Land being held out to them, and upon the whole he thinks it a bad precedent, and likely to produce discontent. The Gen^{l}. intends writing to your Excellency, he however wishes me to mention the circumstance, which I accordingly do, without presuming to give an opinion.

I have directed the Kingston Paper to be regularly sent to the Castle. M^{r}. Cartwright of that place is a sterling character. This Gent^{n}. has, by every means in his power, promoted the prosperity of the Country, and has on all occasions stept forward in support of the Gov^{t}. He intends publishing a series of Letters in the Kingston Paper. The Signature *Falkland*. We intend to let fly a Demi-official at them in the next York Gazette, as the Gen^{l}. thinks it may have a good effect on both sides.

We have got a Detailed account from the Prophet's Camp. He has gained a glorious victory. His loss is 25 men, and his n°. actually engaged did not exceed 100.

I have the honor to be
Dear Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble Servant
A. Gray—

Archives, C. 728, p. 86.

REPORT UPON THE PROVINCIAL MARINE ESTABLISHMENT IN UPPER CANADA, SUBMITTED FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER OF THE FORCES, BY CAPT^N^. GRAY ACT^G^. DEPUTY QU^R^. M^R^. GEN^L^.

The Marine Establishment is formed into two Divisions. The first is restricted to Lake Ontario, and is at present stationed at Kingston. The 2^d^ Division is appropriated to the Navigation of Lake Erie, and occasionally Lake Huron, and is stationed at Amherstburg.

Vessels on Lake Ontario.*

1^st^. The Royal George, a New Vessel, and of Larger dimensions than any other Navigating the Lakes. This Ship mounts 20. 32 p^r^. Carronades, and is in every respect properly equipt, and fit for Service.

2^d^. The Moira is now undergoing a thorough repair, and will be ready to sail as soon as the Lake is open. This Vessel is armed with 18 p^r^. Carronades, and when the Repairs are compleated, will be perfectly fit for Service.

3^d^. The Schooner Prince Regent, now building at York, is expected to be ready for Sea by the end of July. 10. 12 p^r^. Carronades are to be mounted on board this Vessel.

* The marginal notes in ordinary type are part of the original text of this document; those in italics are endorsations made by a separate hand.

4th. The Schooner Duke of Gloucester, now laying at York, where She is undergoing some slight Repairs. This Vessel is armed with 6. 6 prs.

Vessels on Lake Erie.

1st. The Queen Charlotte, a new Vessel, mounting 10. 24 pr. Carronades, and 6 long Guns, and is in all respects ready for Service.

2d. The New Schooner Lady Prevost, now Building. It is expected this Vessel will be finished, and ready to Sail by the end of July. She is to be armed with 10. 12 pr. Carronades.

3d. The Schooner Genl. Hunter is undergoing some repairs, and will be ready to sail as soon as the Navigation is open. This Vessel is armed with 6. 6 prs.

In Submitting certain alterations in the Peace Establishment, it is necessary to advert previously to some changes, and augmentations of Officers, which are indispensable to give effect to our Naval Force, and ensure the due performance of the duties of this branch of the Service.

To remove both the Commodores.

The first object it may be necessary to suggest is the removal of Commodores Grant and Steel from the Head of their respective Divisions of the Marine, and appointing others more efficient to succeed them. Captn. Steel has already made an application, praying to be allowed to retire upon full Pay, and his claims to that indulgence transmitted to England. Captn. Grant, although still less capable than Captn. Steele of discharging his Duty (being now in his 87th year) has not solicited permission to retire, it is however not the less expedient that he should be *removed*, as he cannot be of any service; but may possibly do harm, by standing in the way of others. I should therefore submit that they may be both allowed to retire on full Pay, and Lieutenants Hall and Earle (the next in succession) be appointed to succeed them. Messrs. Hall and Earle are not only the two senior Lieutenants; but they are both fully qualified to

Capt. Steele's application has been favorably recommended to the Treasury.

This arrangement approved.

succeed to the Vacancies, which would arise from the removal of Messrs. Grant and Steel.

By this arrangement it is proposed that the Ontario Division of the Marine should be Officered as follows. Lake Ontario.

1st. The Royal George to be commanded by Captn. Earle, and 2d Lieut. Smith (to be appointed first) under him. Lieut. Smith is an old steady seaman, and recommended by Captn. Earle as deserving promotion.

2d. The Moira to be commanded by Lieut. Sampson, with 2d Lieut. James Richardson (to be appointed) under him. Mr. Richardson is the son of a Naval Officer, and is recommended by Captn. Earle as a proper person to be appointed a 2d Lieut.

3d. The Prince Regent to be commanded by Lieut. Fish, formerly the Commander of the Toronto, and appointed to superintend the Building of the Schooner, and recommended by Major Genl. Brock as a proper person to command the Vessel.

4th. The Duke of Gloucester to continue under the Command of Lieut. Gouvereau [Gauvreau].

1st. The Queen Charlotte to be Commanded by Captn. Hall, who has recommended a young man as a 2d Lieut. to serve under him. Lake Erie.

2d. The Lady Prevost to be commanded by Lieut. Barwis (who at present commands the Genl. Hunter) and,

3d. The Genl. Hunter to be commanded by Lieut. Rolette, recommended by Captn. Hall as deserving of promotion from a 2d to a 1st Lieut.

Exclusive of the above arrangements, there are two other objects that would tend materially to promote the good of the service, by ensuring a regular Supply of Officers and Seamen, properly trained and Disciplined. The first is to authorize the Captn. of each Vessel to enter a Young Lad, properly recommended, to serve as a Midshipman, under To Authorize one Midshipman to each Vessel.

Approved.

Regulations, as to time of service, similar to those of the Navy. In order to encourage and retain them in the service, it might be adviseable to let their Pay increase progressively. If they are entered at 6 Dollars per month, the 2^{d} year they might have 7 Dollars, so that at the expiration of their Six Years (or during their 6th year) they would have 12 Dollars per month. This number would not be more than sufficient to keep up the Establishment of Officers, and after 3 or 4 years service they might save the expence of a second Officer, in some of the Vessels.

To Authorize Apprentices.

Approved.

The other Measure is to authorize the Capt^{n}. of each Vessel to engage (under Indentures) a certain number of Apprentices, from the age of 14 to 18, to serve 6 years, at 6 Dollars per Month, and to empower the Captain to rate them as ordinary Seamen, at any period after three years, if found deserving; that is advancing their pay to 8 Dollars per month.

To increase the Pay of able Seamen.

Under consideration.

It is with great difficulty that the present peace Establishment can be kept up, on account of the lowness of the Wages viz. 8 Dollars per Month, compared with those given by the Merchants. If the Seamen are divided into *able*, and *ordinary*, and the able Seamen raised from 8 to 10 Dollars per Month, this would have a beneficial tendency, and the expence attending this Augmentation would be partly saved, by a retrenchment in another quarter. It has been customry to give an allowance of Working Pay, or Fatigue Money, to Seamen employed in the Yard, which has not only been attended with considerable expence, but has had an evil tendency, in as much as it rewards those who are least entitled to it, as the worst Seamen are always sent to work on shore. That practice ought therefore to be abolished, reserving only to the Dep^{y}. Ass^{t}. Q^{r}. M^{r}. Gen^{l}. the power of placing any man he may find useful in the Yard upon the 10 Dollar Establishment, should it so happen that the man in question is not rated as an able Seaman, and this for the time only

that he may be employed on Shore; but that no other allowance should be granted for any sort of Labour.

The Appointment of Petty Officers—

Some inconvenience has arisen on account of the Authority for appointing Petty Officers (that is all Officers not bearing Commissions) not being clearly defined, or understood with whom the Power is vested; I should therefore submit that the Commander of each Vessel should have the nomination of his own Officers, subject to the approbation of the Commodore. If the Commodore approves of the choice of the Commander of the Vessel, the appointment is to be considered as confirmed.

Approved—

Estimate of Expence—

The following is an Abstract of the additional expence likely to be incurred, in consequence of the Arrangements and Augmentations proposed in this Report.

	Currency per Annum £	s.	d.
1st. The Pay of Messrs. Grant and Steel 10s. 6d. per day each .	383	5	0
2d. Two Dollars per month increase to able Seamen, estimated at 40 men, viz. ⅓ of the Establishment.	260	0	0
3d. The New Schooner Prince Regent, classing her Establisht. on the same footing with the Gl: Hunter.	730	13	10
4th. The New Schooner Lady Prevost Do.	730	13	10
Total : :	£2104	12	8

Remarks—

The 2d Article of expence will probably be counterbalanced by the saving of Working Pay. The Midshipmen, and Apprentices, may be considered as included in the Establisht dated 30th August 1811.

Petition of the Naval Officers for Rank—

The Naval Officers belonging to the Lake Erie Division, have preferred a Petition to His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, praying to have some defined Rank assigned them while serving on shore, or at any time acting in conjunction with the Army. While at York, I communicated this application to Major Genl. Brock, who was of opinion that there could be no objections to their request being complied with, and suggested that the Senior Officers of each Division should have the Rank of *Captain*, and the

Approved.

Lieutenants the Rank of *Lieutenant*, while serving on shore; I therefore beg leave to recommend that their Petition may be granted, and that the Degrees of Rank suggested by Major General Brock may be conferred upon them, and that their Ranks on Shore may take place from the Dates of their Naval Commissions.

A. Gray
Act^{g}. D^{y}. Q^{r}. M^{r}. Gen^{l}.

Quarter Master Gen^{ls}. Office
Quebec 24th Feb^{y}. 1812.

	Currency pr. An. £	s.	d.
N.B. The Total Establishment for both Provinces previously to this Augmentation was Estimated at	5466	14	6
To which add the proposed Augmentation	2104	12	8
Total . .	£7571	7	2

A. Gray

Archives, C. 728, p. 94.

REPORT UPON THE EXPEDIENCY OF REMOVING THE MARINE ESTABLISHMENT FROM KINGSTON TO YORK, AND UPON ERECTING A FORTRESS, OR PLACE OF ARMS, AT THE LATTER STATION, AND MAKING IT THE PRINCIPAL DEPOT FOR MILITARY STORES, &^{c}. SUBMITTED FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER OF THE FORCES, BY CAPT^{N}. GRAY, ACT^{G}. D^{Y}. Q^{R}. M^{R}. GEN^{L}.

Reasons for removing the Marine from Kingston.

The very exposed situation of Kingston renders it an extremely unfit Station for our Naval Establishment upon Lake Ontario. During the whole of the Winter, while our Ships of War are dismantled, and locked up with the Ice, they might easily be destroyed, and the Military Stores

carried off; as the River freezes over every winter opposite Kingston, and thereby deprives us of the defence afforded by our Marine, and exposes us to the Attacks of a Tumult[ua]ry force, which might be sufficient to accomplish this object, should Hostilities be determined upon. The impolicy of keeping the greater part of our means of defence for the Upper Province, at a frontier Post so defenceless and exposed as Kingston, must be obvious. Here we have not only our Marine Establishment (which entails the necessity of keeping the Ordnance, Ammunition and Stores of various sorts for the equipment of the Vessels); but there is likewise the Dock yard, and the Depot of Arms for the Service of the Militia &c. and all within a days march of a Neighbour who would not let so favorable an opportunity of striking a Blow escape him, should War be the result. A loss of this nature, at the commencement of the War would be irretrivable and at once decide the fate of the Province, as the communications with the lower Province would in all probability be cut off, so that we would have no opportunity of replacing the Military Stores, if we even possessed the Means. And the destruction of the shipping, would leave the whole of our Frontier bordering on Lake Ontario totally defenceless. At present the garrison of Kingston does not exceed 100 Men, of the Veteran Battalion, and many of those are totally unfit for active service. And the nature of the ground is so peculiarly circumstanced, that the garrison and Dock Yards are seperated from each other by the Strait which forms the Harbour of Kingston. The High ground from which alone the Dock Yard can be defended, is also seperated from it by another inlet, called Navy Bay. Thus, the garrison occupies one situation, the Dock Yard another, and the ground commanding it remains unoccupied!

Reasons for giving a preference to York—

It would appear that York combines most of the advantages to be kept in view in the selection of a Naval Station. It has a safe and commodious Harbour, and is capable of

affording shelter to any Number of Vessels, where they may lay at all times in perfect safety. It has also the advantage of being easily Fortified, as the entrance is narrow, and almost close to the Government House, near which it is proposed to establish a Military Work which will have the compleat command of the Passage. There is also reason to believe that Ship Timber, and all the facilities for Building Vessels are to be procured at York, equal if not superior to those had at Kingston; But this point cannot be decided till we see how we succeed with the New Schooner recently ordered to be built at York. The seat of Government being established at York, may also be considered as one of the inducements for removing the Naval Station to this place, where the Gen[l]. Officer Commanding would have this important branch of our Military Establishment under his own eye, which would enable him the better to direct the operations of this branch of the Service.

But the most important consideration is the safety afforded against any Coup de Main of the Enemy. York will in all probability be held as long as we have a foot of territory in Upper Canada, as from its remote situation, and being so far retired from the frontier, it is secured from any sudden assault; nothing therefore can affect it but operations having for their object the subjugation of the Province, and which object this Post is admirably calculated to defeat, if it were fortified in a proper manner, and well garrisoned. If the enemy had even over-run the greater part of the Province, while we retain York and our Naval means entire, we might still find sufficient employment for them, and procure supplies for the Garrison.

One thing seems evident, and that is, that the Navy cannot winter anywhere in safety, without an adequat Military force to protect it, or unless it is placed under the Guns of a Fortress. While our Military Establishment in these Provinces remains on its present footing, there is but

little chance of our being enabled to repulse everywhere the attacks of our enemies, throughout a frontier of a thousand miles in extent. I should therefore humbly conceive that it would be highly essential to the safety of Upper Canada, to establish a Military Work somewhere on each Lake, for the protection of the Marine during the Winter.

Observations on the Establisht. of a Militv. Work at York—

The narrow neck of Land formed between the Lake and the Ravine at the Govt. House, has been selected by Major Genl. Brock for a Military Post. The ground seemed perfectly well adapted for the nature of Work the Genl. had in contemplation, namely, a small irregular Fort for the sole object of enclosing the new Barracks proposed to be built, and affording accommodation to the Garrison and public Stores. This although an important object, is still far short of the Work contemplated in this Report, as affording protection to the Navy, and as capable of being maintained against a superior force. Nothing I conceive short of a *strong regular Fort* will fully answer the end proposed. It does not appear absolutely necessary that this Work should be of a very great extent, I should rather prefer a small Pentagon, or Square, with one of the sides of the Polygon upon the Lake (or Harbour). The neck of Land at the Govt. House is too much contracted, and irregular in its shape, for such a Work; it might therefore be more adviseable to establish the Work between the Garrison and Town. This ground approaches nearer to the spot where the shipping would have to winter, and from the ground being a Plain (excepting the Ravine between the Govt. House and the Garrison) without any part having a sensible command over the immediate margin of the Lake, the figure of the Work may therefore be regular.

If the Fort were constructed in a strong permanent manner, and the Scarp and Counterscarp revetted with Brick or Stone, there would be but little expence incurred in keeping it in repair. And if at any time more cover, and

extent of ground were required, to give protection to our Troops, or to the Inhabitants, in the event of the Enemy over-running the Country, it would be easy to surround the Fort with a Chain of Works (open to the Fort with the exception of a Pallisaded Line at the Gorge) that might enclose a considerable tract of country, and retard the approaches of the enemy. This extension of our Position, would of course be governed by our strength, and means of Defence. All the Out-Works might be temporary, and the construction of them left till they were likely to be wanted.

A. Gray
Actg. Dy. Qr. Mr. Genl.

Quarter Master Generals Office
Quebec 9th March 1812.

Archives, C. 728, p. 110.

Extract of a letter from Captain G. B. Hall to Lieutenant Colonel Myers, Deputy Quartermaster General.

Extract.

His Majesty's Ship Queen Charlotte
Off Fort Erie Oct^r. 27th 1812.

Sir/

Should his Excellency the Commander of the Forces approve of the Establishment of Officers and Men which I submitted as in my opinion necessary for his Majesty's Vessels on these Lakes, I beg leave to recommend the following Gentlemen for promotion, viz. Mr. Robert Irvine[1] for a Lieutenancy, Mr. James Fleet[1] to be Master of this Ship, and Mr. James Fortier to be Mate. The former of these Gentlemen is deserving of notice for his gallant defence of the Caledonia of which vessel he was late Master, Mr. Fleet is an Old Experienced Seaman, and has served with me since the commencement of Hostilities, and has rendered me great

[1] At present acting.

assistance, and M^r. James Fortier is a very promising Young Man, and I trust will merit your future protection. As the Enemy has undoubtedly got a number of Seamen on the Frontiers of the Lakes, there can be little doubt of their risking everything to try and obtain the Command upon them. The want of Seamen for His Majesty's Vessels, is already severely felt none of them have more than a sufficient number to navigate them in peaceable times. . . .

(Signed) G. B. Hall
Commd^r P Navy

Archives, C. 386, p. 87.

From Major General Moore in Newfoundland to Prevost at ——.

Saint Johns Newfoundland
8^th October. 1812.

Sir/

I have the honor to inclose for your Excellencys information the Copy of a joint Letter that the Governor and myself sent to the Commanding Royal Engineer, and I beg to acquaint you that the Sea Defences alluded to, are completed; the other Objects we advert to are Estimated &^ca., but as the Expences would be considerable, His Excellency the Governor and myself seem to think it is adviseable for him to lay them personally before the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, before any further orders are given (unless to a trivial extent) on the subject; which proceedings, as far as regards myself, I trust will meet your approbation.—

I have the honor to be
Sir/
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient Servant
Fran^s. Moore
Major Gen^l.

[*Marginal note in pencil*]

I approve of the precautionary measures taken.

Archives, C. 386, p. 88.

Enclosure. From Admiral J. T. Duckworth, Governor of Newfoundland, and Major General Francis Moore, Fort Townshend, St. John's, Newfoundland, to Captain Durnford, Royal Engineers.

Fort Townshend, S^{t}. Johns
Copy Newfoundland 27th July 1812.

Sir/

We have considered with deliberate attention, the State of the Fortifications on which the Town and Harbour of S^{t}. Johns depend for their security; and we are of Opinion that the declaration of War against His Majesty by the United States has created an emergency which demands that the Sea Defences at least should be immediately strengthened.

We have consulted with you upon this subject, and you have stated to us that you are not at liberty to incur Expences in the Ordnance Department upon any works for which Estimates have not been sent home and approved; but as the probability that this place may become the Object of an Enemy's attack, is now so much greater than it has been, more especially as we have received intelligence, apparently correct, of a powerful Fleet, supposed to be French, having been seen steering toward America; and as the Trade of the whole Island has been concentrating itself in S^{t}. Johns, so that the very existence of the settlement as a Fishery, depends upon the security of the supplies which are here deposited, and as it appears to be therefore our positive duty to provide against any attempt that may be made to force a passage into this Harbour, we desire that you will immediately cause the Guns to be mounted upon the Sea faces of Forts Townshend and William, and proper Estimates to be made without loss of time of the Expence to be incurred in the construction of the Platforms, or whatever other works you may consider necessary to render the Batteries facing the Narrows, effi-

cient for temporary Service, the expence of which will be defrayed by Bills upon the Treasury.

You will proceed in the most œconomical manner, and undertake nothing more at present than you shall find really indispensable to this particular Object that we have pointed out.

We have also to desire you will cause an Estimate to be made of the probable expence of reinstating the Platforms towards the Land fronts, and of inclosing & improving the defences of Fort Townshend, so as to strengthen this work in a temporary manner against a sudden assault by Land; the execution of which you will not attempt to commence untill we judge proper to furnish you with further orders.

We are Sir,
Your Obedient
humble Servants
Signed/ J. T. Duckworth
Admiral and Governor.
Fras. Moore
Major General Commanding

Archives, C. 386, p. 89.

Draft of letter from Prevost at Montreal to Moore at St. Johns, Newfoundland.

Head Quarters
Montreal 9th Novr 1812

Sir

I have to acknowledge the honour of your letter of the 8th Ulto. inclosing the copy of a joint letter addressed by His Excy. Sir J. T. Duckworth and yourself to the commanding Engineer, and I have to acquaint you that I entirely approve of the precautionary measures adopted by you on the occasion.

I have the honour to be
&c. &c. &ca.
G. P.

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP I (*continued*)

PREPARATION, 1801–1812—MILITARY

Archives, C. 1712, p. 3.

Official Telegraph Book,
as used in 1812.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TELEGRAPH

LOWER YARD.

The Lower Yard is equally divided into Two Arms, (one upon each side of the Mast), and Each Arm, into Five divisions; the alternate divisions being marked by a square piece of wood placed under them, for the greater facility in distinguishing the divisions.

UNITS. Arm A—Upon the Arm A, Units are represented, and a second Ball (suspended from another,) upon this Arm, invariably denotes *Five*.—Thus the No. 3, is made by hoisting One Ball at the third division from the end of the Arm.—The No. 8, by suspending a second Ball from the same.

TENS. Arm B—Upon the Arm B, Tens are represented, and a Second Ball upon this Arm, invariably denotes *Fifty*.—Thus the No. 20 is made by hoisting One Ball at the Second Division from the Mast.—The No. 70 by suspending a Second Ball from the same.

HUNDREDS. Slider C—Hundreds are represented by means of a Triangular Slider C, which is placed behind the Mast when not in use.—It slides along the whole extent

of the Lower Yard, and by placing it upon any of the nine divisions from 1, A, to the 4th division upon B, any number under One Thousand can thus be made.

N.B. The Arm A, upon which Units are represented, is invariably that upon the *Right Hand* when looking up the River.

Upper Yard.

Upon the Upper Yard, Thousands are represented in the following manner:

Arm D—	One Ball denotes . . .	One Thousand.
	A Second Ball	Two Thousand.
Arm E—	One Ball	Three Thousand.
	A Second Ball . . .	Four Thousand.
	One Ball upon Each Arm .	Five Thousand.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE USE OF THE TELEGRAPH

Preparative. — Previous to making any Communication by the Telegraph, a *Blue Flag* is to be hoisted (as a preparative) at either end of the Upper Yard, and kept flying till repeated by the next Station; the Message will then be proceeded with, number after number, until finished.

Message finished. — When the Message is finished, a *Blue Flag* is to be hoisted at either end of the Lower Yard (where the Communication originated,) and kept flying till repeated.

Message understood. — A *Red Pendant* at either end of the Upper Yard, indicates that the Message is understood.

Message not understood. — A *Red Pendant* hoisted at either end of the Lower Yard, indicates that the Message is not understood.

EXAMPLE. — Suppose it were required to convey a Message from the First to the most remote Station ;—The Preparative Flag will be hoisted at the 1st, and kept flying till repeated by the 2d Station.—The Flag at the 1st will then be taken down, and the first number of the Message hoisted.—The Preparative Flag at the 2d Station, will, however, be kept flying until it is repeated by the next ; it will then be struck, and the No. communicated from the first Station hoisted, which must be kept up until repeated by the third Station. The 2d Station will then take a new number from the 1st, and proceed as before, taking care always that no signal is to be struck till correctly repeated by the next in succession.

REMARKS. — Each Station will have a Distinguishing Number. Communications originating with any of the intermediate Stations, or which apply only to them, must be preceeded by the distinguishing number of such intermediate Station, hoisted immediately after the Preparative Flag, and previous to the first No. of the Message.

Every signal made is to be correctly entered in a Book, at each Station, in the form and manner therein prescribed.

VOCABULARY. — Words are represented by Numbers as arranged in the annexed Vocabulary. — Prepositions and articles will be used as seldom as possible, and the sentences will be made short.—In verbs, the number, person, tense and mood must be applied to the sense of the sentence, and attention in the same respect must be paid to words having more than one termination ; but when it happens that the exact word is not in the Vocabulary, one nearest synony-

mous will be adopted; should it however be necessary to use a word not in the Vocabulary it can be spelt by the Numerical Alphabet, which may be known by the numbers from 1 to 25, and is to be spelt as short as possible.—When it is required to spell more than one word in succession by the Alphabet, No. 3051 must be hoisted, to mark the termination of Each word.

Simple words may be used to form a compound (which will save time in spelling,) and when any simple word forms a syllable, it may be also used, and the other part of the word spelt by the letters.

Head-Quarters, Quebec, 1st April, 1809.

By His Excellency's Command,
JAMES KEMPT,
Q.M.G.
N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 29.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec, 19th October 1811.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Commander of the Forces having had occasion to observe, that the Order of The Commander in Chief of the 28th September 1810, Forbidding the admission of Foreigners into British Regiments; except in instances wherein special permission is obtained, has not been strictly attended to, by Corps recruiting in North America, and further that an improper latitude has been permitted by receiving Recruits, who from Age, and other causes are ill qualified for His Majesty's Service, His Excellency is pleased to direct that in future all Recruits, without exception, are to be presented with as little

delay as possible, for the Inspection and Approval of the General Officer Commanding the District, where the Recruit may inlist.

His Excellency disapproves of any Americans recently from the United States, or Seamen, being received into the Service.—

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adj^t. Gen^l. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 44.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 12^th Novem. 1811.

Gen^l. Orders.

A Working Party consisting of 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal and 20 Men of the Canadian Regiment, to be selected by the Commanding Officer, of strong healthy Men expert in the use of the felling axe, to embark tomorrow at ½ past 12 O'Clock at the S^t. Andrew's Wharf, opposite the Lower Town Market place, in Two Batteaux to proceed to S^t. Nicholas Mills.—

A Party of 1 Serjeant and 9 Men of the Royal Newf'dl^d. Reg^t. are to proceed in the same Boats for the purpose of bringing back the Batteaux after landing the Working Party.

The Commissary General will cause 15 days Field Rations for the Working Party to be put on board the Boats. The Newfoundl^d. Party will take Two days Provisions with them from their Regiment.—

Twenty six good Felling Axes to be issued to the Party immediately, and the Men are to be made to grind and set their Axes at the Engineers Work Yard, if requisite, before their departure. The Men are to take with them their Great Coats, and One Blanket, and the Commanding Officer will see that they are well provided with sufficient Fatigue dress, and two pair good Shoes.—

This Party is to be employed in clearing Craig's Road of fallen Trees, and removing such impediments as may be found necessary.—

M^r^. Styles is appointed to Superintend the performance of this Work.—

Carts will be provided to Transport the Working Party from S^t^. Nicholas to S^t^. Giles, and Two Carts will be ordered to attend the Party while employed.—

(signed) Edward Baynes,
Adj^t^. Gen^l^. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 51.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 18^th^ November 1811.

General Orders—

The Commissary General is directed to Issue on the Requisition of Commanding Officers of Corps, Snow Shoes and Creepers in the following proportion, to the Royal Artillery, One Half of the Effective Strength, Regiments of Infantry One third the effective Strength. For which the requisite Receipts will be granted.—

(Signed) Edw^d^ Baynes
Adj^t^. Gen^l^. N.A.

Archives, C. 673, p. 171.

From Brock at York to Prevost at ——.

York Upper Canada
Dec^br^ 2^d^ 1811.

Sir,

The information contained in the Message of the President to Congress relative to the existing differences between England and the United States, will justify, I presume to

think, the adoption of such precautionary measures, as may be necessary to meet all future Exigencies. Under this impression I beg leave to submit to your Excellency, such observations as occur to me, to enable you, to form a correct judgement of the actual State of this Province.

The Military force which heretofore occupied the Frontier Posts being so inadequate to their defence, a general opinion obtained, that no opposition in the event of hostilities, was intended.

The late encrease of ammunition, and every species of Stores, the substitution of a strong Regiment, and the appointment of a Military Person to administer the Government, have tended to infuse other sentiments among the most reflecting part of the Community, and I feel happy in being able to assure Your Excellency, that during my visit last week to Niagara, I received the most satisfactory professions of a determination on the part of the principal Inhabitants to exert every means in their power, in the defence of their property, and support of the Government.

They look with confidence to your Excellency for such additional aid as may be necessary, in conjunction with the Militia, to repel any hostile attempt against this Province.

I shall beg leave to refer Your Excellency to the communications of Lieu^{t}. Governor Gore with Sir James Craig (as p^{r} margin) [1] for a correct view of the temper and composition of the Militia and Indians, and altho' perfectly aware of the number of improper characters who have obtained extensive possessions and whose principles diffuse a spirit of insubordination very adverse to all military institutions, yet I feel confident a large majority will prove faithful. It is however certain that the best policy to be pursued, should future circumstances call for active preparations, will be to act with the utmost liberality, and as if no mistrust existed. For unless the Inhabitants give an active and efficient aid, it will be utterly impossible for the very limited number of

the military who are likely to be employed, to preserve the Province. The first point to which I am anxious to call your Excellency's attention, is the District of Amherstburgh. I consider it the most important, and if supplied with the means of commencing active operations, must deter the Americans from any offensive attempt from Niagara westward.

That Government will be compelled to secure their western frontier from the inroads of the Indians, and this cannot be effected without a very considerable force. But before we can expect an active cooperation on the part of the Indians, the reduction of Detroit and Michilimakinac, must convince that People (who conceive themselves to have been sacrificed to our policy in the year 1794 [2]) that we are earnestly engaged in the War. The Indians, I am given to understand, are eager for an opportunity to avenge the numerous injuries of which they complain. A few Tribes at the instigation of a Shawanese of no note, have already (altho' explicitly told not to look for assistance from us) commenced the contest. The stand which they continue to make on the Wabash against about two thousand Regulars and Militia, is a strong proof of the large force which a general combination of the Indians will render necessary to protect so widely extended a Frontier. The Garrisons of Detroit and Michilimakinac do not I believe exceed seventy rank and file each, but the former can be easily reinforced by the Militia in the neighbourhood, which tho' not numerous, would be ample for its defence, unless assailed by a force, much superior to any we can now command.—The Americans would draw their principal force either for defence or attack from the Ohio, an enterprizing hardy race, and uncommonly expert on horseback with the rifle. This species of force is formidable to the Indians, altho' according to reports, which have reached me by different channels (but none official) they lately repelled an attack of some magnitude. Unless a diversion such as I have suggested, be made, an over-

whelming force will probably be directed against this part of the Province. The measure will however be attended with a heavy expense especially in the article of provision, for not only the Indians who take the field, but also their families, must be maintained. The numeral force of the Militia in the vicinity of Amherstburgh, exceeds by a trifle seven hundred Rank and File, consequently very little assistance can be derived from that source in any offensive operation. Should therefore the aspect of affairs hereafter give stronger indications of a rupture, I propose augmenting the Garrison of Amherstburgh with two hundred Rank and File from Fort George and York. Such a measure I consider essentially necessary were it only calculated to rouse the energy of both Militia and Indians, who are now impressed with a firm belief that in the event of a war they are to be left to their fate—great pains have been taken to instil this idea into the minds of the Indians, and no stronger argument could be employed, than the weak state of the Garrison. The Army now assembled on the Wabash, with the ostensible view of opposing the Shawanese Indian, is a strong additional motive in my mind, in support of the measure, for I have no doubt but the instant their service in the field terminates, a large portion of the Regulars will be detached, to strengthen the garrison of Detroit. I have prepared Colonel Procter for such an event, and after weighing the inconvenience, to which the Service would be exposed, if the District were placed under a Militia Colonel (an event obvious unless superseded by a Regular Officer of equal rank), I have directed Lieu^{t}. Colonel S^{t}. George to be in readiness to repair to Amherstburgh and assume the Command. I entertain a high opinion of this officer, and make no doubt that his intelligence and conciliatory disposition will greatly promote the service. At any rate I am without a choice, and hope his situation of Inspector of Militia, will not be considered a bar to the arrangement.

The state of the roads will probably stop this projected movement until the latter end of this month or beginning of next, nor do I intend that the Troops should leave their present quarters, unless urged by fresh circumstances. I therefore look to receive your Excellencys commands, previous to their departure. From Amherstburgh to Fort Erie my chief dependance must rest on a naval force for the protection of that extensive coast. But considering the state to which it is reduced, extraordinary exertions and great expense will be required before it can be rendered efficient. At present it only consists of a Ship and a small schooner, the latter of a bad construction, old, and in want of many repairs, yet she is the only King's vessel able to navigate Lake Huron, whilst the Americans have a Sloop and a fine Brig capable of carrying twelve guns, and in perfect readiness for any service. If consequently the Garrison of S^{t}. Joseph's is to be maintained, and an attack on Michilimakinac under-[3]taken, it will be expedient to hire or purchase from the Merchants, as many vessels as may be necessary for the purpose. The Americans can resort to the same means, and the construction, and number of their vessels for trade will give them great advantage—besides their small craft or boats, in which Troops could be easily transported across the waters, exceed ours considerably, indeed we have very few of that description. I therefore leave it to your Excellency's superior [4] judgement to determine, whether a sufficient number of gun boats for both Lakes so constructed as to draw little water, ought not to be added to our means of defence and offence. It is worthy of remark, that the only American National vessel on Lake Ontario built two years ago, and now laying in Sacket's harbour, has remained without Seamen until within the last fortnight, when the officers began to enter men as fast as possible. A Lieutenant with a party came to Buffalo (a tolerable large village oppos^{e} Fort Erie) and

procured several hands, but not satisfied, a petty officer was sent to our side to inveigle others. The Magistrates hearing of this, sent to have him apprehended, but he with difficulty escaped. The Strait between Niagara and Fort Erie is that which in all probability will be chosen for their main body to penetrate with a view to conquest. All other attacks will be subordinate, or merely made to divert our attention.

About 3000 Militia could upon an emergency be drawn to that line, and nearly five hundred Indians could likewise be collected, therefore what with the Regulars, no trifling force could hope for success provided a determined resistance was made, but I cannot hide from your Excellency, that unless a strong military force be present, to animate the Loyal, and controul the Disaffected, nothing effectual can be expected. A protracted resistance upon this Frontier will be sure to embarrass their plans materially. They will not come prepared to meet it, and their Troops, or Volunteer Corps, without scarcely any discipline, (as far at least as controul is in the question) will soon tire under disappointment. The difficulty which they will experience in providing provisions, will involve them into expenses under which their Government will soon become impatient. The Car Brigade will be particularly useful in obstructing their passage, and I cannot be too urgent in soliciting the means, both as to Gunners, and Drivers, and likewise as to horses to render the one at Fort George complete for Service. A small body of Cavalry would be absolutely necessary, and I have already offers from many respectable young men, to form themselves into a Troop. All they seem to require are swords and pistols, which the Stores below may probably be able to furnish. The situation of Kingston is so very important in every military point of view, that I cannot be too earnest in drawing Your Excellency's attention to that Quarter. The Militia from the bay of Quinté down to Glengary is the most respectable

of any in the Province. Among the Officers, several are on half pay who still retain a sound military spirit. Those from the bay of Quinté would be properly stationed at Kingston—but all downwards would naturally desire to be employed to resist any predatory excursions to which their property would be so much exposed from the opposite shore. I have besides been always of opinion, that a strong detachment would follow the route of Lord Amherst and attempt to enter the Province by Oswagatchie. The Militia on the whole of that communication cannot therefore be more usefully employed, than in watching such a movement, and should the Enemy direct the whole of his Force by S^{t}. John's the greater part can with the utmost facility join the Army acting upon that Frontier.

The Militia Act, which I have the honor to transmit, provides for such an Emergency, and your Excellency will readily observe among many wise and salutary provisions, but few means of enforcing them.

No exertions however shall be wanting in my Civil Capacity, to place that body upon a respectable footing. M^{r}. Cartwright the senior Militia Colonel at Kingston possesses the influence to which his firm character, and superior abilities so deservedly entitle him, but as I cannot possibly give the necessary attention to so distant an object, and as a Regular Officer will be indispensible to direct the operations, one of high rank ought if possible be nominated to that Command. So much will remain to be done, and such high expenses to be incurred, in the Quarter Master General's department that I cannot be too earnest with your Excellency in requesting that an Officer equal to the situation may be appointed. A head to the Commissariat will likewise be indispensible.

I have trespassed greatly on your Excellency's time, but I beg to be permitted to entreat Your Excellency to honor me with such advice and counsel as your experience may

suggest, and be assured, my utmost pride will be to meet your views, and merit your approbation.

I have the honor to be
with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and
Very Humble Servant
Isaac Brock
M. G^l.

[*Two notes in ink in margin as above*]

1. 1^st dec^br 1807 5^th jan^y. 1808 20^th feb^y. 1809, the latter enclosing an Extract from correspondance with Lieu^t. Colonel Grant, 41^st Reg^t dated Amherstburgh 5^th Jan^y. 1808—

2. Miami affair.

[*Marginal notes in pencil*]

3. Concentrate not extend our operations.

4. The D.Q.M^r. Gen^l. to conform to M. Gen^l. Brock's suggestions.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 60.

Adjutant General's Office
Quebec 5^th Decem^r. 1811.

General Orders.

His Royal Highness The Commander in Chief having signified his Commands, that the Troops stationed in the Island of Bermuda, shall in future form a part of the Army serving in British North America.—

His Excellency The Commander of the Forces is pleased to direct that the Troops composing the Garrison of Bermuda, be considered as a Detachment from the Division of the Army stationed in Nova Scotia, and all Reports and

Applications are to be made to the General Officer Commanding at that Station.

(signed) Edw[d] Baynes,
Adj[t]. Gen[l]. N.A.

Archives, C. 728, p. 61.

From Colonel Matthew Elliott to Brock.

(Copy)

Amherstburg 11[th] January 1812.

Sir,

The day before yesterday I was honored with your letter of the 24[th] ult[o]. and now proceed to answer some points on which you want information, deferring the other parts until I have procured further information, and procure a Plan of Detroit, which I expect to do before I set off for York, which will be in the course of a few days.

From a Gentleman of Veracity and a keen observer, who was at Detroit last October, and saw the Fort and Guns, I am informed, that they have Twenty 24 Pounders, many of which were mounted besides four Twelves—one 10 Inch —Two 8 Inch Howitzers—Four 4½ Inch Royals—Six Mortars of different Calibers, and two Travelling Forges for heating Shot: and for the Militia, Four Field 6 Pounders, with field equipage complete.

Another very intelligent Gentleman, has given me the following list of Vessels and their Tonnage—

Brig Adams—14 Guns—about the size of the Old Camden on the Stocks 4 miles up the River Rouge, repairing—
Schooner Amelia—70 Tons—at Prisque Isle or Black Rock
do. Selina—80 „ at Detroit Wharfe
do. Nancy—90 „ Black Rock or Prisque Isle—
Sloop—Contractor—60 Tons—Black Rock, or Prisque Isle.
With five or six small craft, names unknown.

British Merchant Vessels.

Nancy, about 100 Tons.—Owners, N W. Company,
Caledonia —70 „ —d° d° } laying at Mackintosh's wharfe opposite Detroit.
Eleanor —50 „ —do—R^d. Pattinson }
Thames —80—„—In bad repair, Owners Innes and M^cGregor

The two last are at Sandwich Wharfe—
The Dover, about 20 Tons—in the River Thames

I can add nothing more to my opinion respecting the attack upon Detroit, to what I submitted to Colonel Claus in my letter in your possession—That Fort once taken, we would have nothing to dread, and we could open communication with the Indians.

I find, from authority I cannot doubt, that Detroit is garrisoned by 50 Infantry and the same number of Artillery.

The three essentials you call my attention to, I beg leave to assure your honor, have guided my conduct since I have had the Superintendence of the Post.

As I shall be at York in the course of a short time, permit me to defer saying more at present on the different subjects which your letter embraces.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your Most Obedient
Humble Servant
(Signd) M. Elliott
S. I. A.

Archives, C. 728, p. 62.

From Elliott to Brock.

Copy.

Amherstburg 12th January 1812.

Sir

I have the honor to inform you, that just as I had finished writing you yesterday, a Kikapoo Chief who was in the action on the Wabache arrived here, and reports that with-

out having sent any previous message, Governor Harrison advanced from his Fort against the Indians with intention of surrounding the Village on all sides, that none might escape if they proved refractory. He completely surrounded it on the Land side, and attempted it by the River, but the Indians boldly ordered him to desist, or it would not go well with him—He then asked where he could Camp, and was told, "wherever he pleased except round their Village—" All this time the Officers and Cavalry had their swords ready drawn and the Infantry were drawn up ready to fire upon them.

He however retreated about a Quarter of a mile over a little rising ground and Camped by a small Rivulet; but before he retreated the Indians took a Negro and threatened to put him to death if he did not inform them of the Governors intention. The Negro told them that he intended to deceive them, and they let him go. And the Governor after he had encamped, sent the same Negro back to them to desire them to sleep sound and be at ease, and not approach his Sentinals lest they should be shot, and that he would not allow any of his people to go near them—

The Indians however had their Piquets to prevent surprize and often, during the night ordered the American Spies to retire from their Posts, without doing them any injury—Two young Winibiegoes, no doubt out of curiosity (for it appears the Indians had no intention to attack but to defend themselves if attacked) went near some of the American Sentinals and were shot at, and fell as wounded men, but on the Sentinals coming up to dispatch them they arose and Tomahawked them.

This insult roused the indignation of the Indians and they determined to be revenged and accordingly commenced the attack at Cock Crowing—They had the Americans between two fires, driven by the Winibiegoes, they were received by the Kikapoos, alternately, until about 9 oClock, when the Indians gave way for want of Arrows and Ammunition. It

appears, that not above one hundred Indians fired a shot, the greater number being engaged in plundering and conveying off horses.

The women and children saved themselves by crossing the river during the engagement.

The Americans burned the Prophet's Village and all the Corn of the Shawanoes, but the Kikapoos saved theirs by having had it previously buried.—Twenty-five Indians only are killed ; the Kikapoo does not know the number of Americans killed, but he says their loss must have been considerable, not less than one hundred.

The Prophet and his people do not appear as a vanquished enemy ; they re-occupy their former ground.

From this man's report, the Chiefs of these Tribes have determined to come here early in the Spring to make a demand of ammunition and Arms.

The Prophets brother, who went to the Southward in Winter 1810–11 is reported by this man to be on his return and has reached the farthest Kikapoo Town, and is there in Council with the different Nations—He passed Vincennes on his way home, and met the Army of Governor Harrison retreating, but no insult was offered to him or his few friends who accompanied him.

When the Messenger I sent, returns, I no doubt will receive further intelligence respecting the views of the Indians and will lose no time in transmitting it to you—or perhaps be the bearer of it myself.

The following is an account of the numbers of the Different Nations killed in the action viz[t].

Kikapoos	9	
Winibiegoes . . .	6	
Potewatemies . . .	4	25.
Ottawas	3	
Creeks	2	
Shawanoes . . .	1	

From the manner in which the Kikapoo relates his story I sincerely believe his account to be correct.

I have the honor to be
Your Honor's
Most Obedient &
Most Humble Servant
(signed) M: Elliott
S. I. A.

P.S.—The Indian Forces consisted of from 250 to 300 and not more than 100 were ever engaged.

Archives, C. 676, p. 79.

From Captain A. Gray to Prevost.

Montreal 13th January 1812

Dear Sir,

. . . . . .

The next object I turned my attention to was the N. West Company. I have had several discussions with the heads of the Companies, for it appears there are two, One called the N. West, and another denominated the S. West, or the Michilimackinack Company—The result is in substance as follows—That the Heads of the Companies are exceedingly grateful to your Excellency for taking an interest in the protection of their Trade, that they will enter with zeal into any measures of Defence, *or even Offence*, that may be proposed to them. To render this statement clear I must refer your Excellency to Smith's Map of Upper Canada. In the event of War the Route by Detroit and the River Sinclair must be abandoned, and that by York adopted. From York they will proceed by Lake Simcoe to Gloucester Bay, in Lake Huron, and along the North Shore of the Lake to the Straits, or falls, of St. Mary's and from thence into Lake Superior. The only part of this Route that they feel

any apprehension of being interrupted, or cut off by the Enemy, is upon Lake Huron. An armament may be fitted out at Detroit to inter[cept] them in their return from the N. West (when their Cargoes are more valuable). It is therefore upon this line of Communication they will probably require our support. It would appear from the information I have received that we might be enabled to afford them the requisite support from York, as the communication from York to Lake Huron is much shorter than that from Detroit to the tract proposed by the N. West. This is a point upon which I cannot speak with any degree of certainty at present, I merely submit such ideas as have arisen out of the conversations I have had with the Gent^{n}. concerned in this Trade. On Lake Superior they feel every way superior to the Americans, having the compleat command of the Lake, and the country on its banks—On tracing the commun[icatio]^{n} from thence downwards their first apprehensions are at the Straits of S^{t}. Mary's. At this point the Enemy might cut them off, if some means are not taken to prevent it. Those means would be (according to their ideas) to remove the Garrison and Post of S^{t}. Joseph's up to the falls of S^{t}. Mary, where a very eligible position may be taken up, either upon one of the Islands in the Strait, or upon the British side. That the Post of S^{t}. Joseph's affords no protection whatever to their Trade, as it is upon a large Island, which has no command over the channels to the Right and left of it. That this change of Position of the Garrison, would enable them to concentrate their force upon Lake Superior at S^{t}. Mary, and combine their operations with our Troops. If the Enemy established himself upon any point in Lake Huron, they would Arm one of their Vessels (one of 60 Tons) and run her down the falls, and carry with them every man they could muster amounting to about 300 Voyageurs and as many Indians. This force they imagine combined with the disposable part of the Post of Regulars, acting in concert with the force that it

might be possible to furnish them from York, would enable them to dislodge the enemy from any Position he may take up upon the Lake,and in short exclude him entirely from any participation in the Navigation or Commerce of Lakes Superior, Huron and Michigan—To compleat this object effectually they have suggested the propriety, and practicability, of reducing Michilimackinack (an American Post at the entrance of Michigan). This Post they describe as very weak, being commanded within Pistol shot, &c. It is to be observed that the Theatre of action for the S. West company is the country on the Banks of Lake Michigan, and that of the N. West all the rest of the Wilderness, the Hudson Bay Company's settlem[t]. excepted,—There is an object that would tend materially to forward this branch of our Military System; that is forming the two Companies into two Volunteer Corps, by giving the Heads, and confidential Clerks &c. Commissions, according to an order of Rank that they might settle among themselves. That is making the first person of each Comp[y]. L[t]. Col. Comm[t]. and keeping a regular gradation downwards according to their influence and standing in the Comp[y]. They express every wish to be useful in the common cause, and I am persuaded require only to be directed how to proceed, to become a formidable Body, which I will have the honor of explaining more fully when I return—One great advantage that would result from commissioning the Officers of these Companies, would be the protection it would ensure them in the event of any of them falling into the hands of the enemy—Without Com[mission][s] they might be treated as free-booters, or plunderers. They have an impression of that kind upon their minds—They have tendered all their Vessels for the service of Gov[t]. if the exigencies of the war should make it necessary to call for them—In short they are full of Loyalty and zeal, and manifest a degree of public spirit highly honorable to them. By means of these Companies we might let loose the Indians upon them throughout the whole extent

of their Western frontier, as they have a most commanding influence over them. . . . . .

I have the honor to be
Dear Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient
humble Servant
A. Gray.

Archives, C. 676, p. 76.

Enclosure. Memoranda on the Defensive Strength and Equipment of the North West Company.

MEMORANDA.—From the Agents of the North West Company for the information of Cap^{t}. Gray.—

The N.W. Co. have on Lake Superior 1 vessel of 120 Tons —could be armed with 6 @ * 8 Guns—also 1 of 60 Tons which might be run down the Falls of S^{t}. Marys to be made use of on the Lakes Huron and Michigan; They have also 2 vessels at Moy, (Sandwich) viz: the *Caledonia* and *Nancy* each from 100 @ 120 Tons, and Each Carrying 4 Guns.—

25 Canoes will start from La Chine the first week in May for Lake Superior—having on board 3 Agents viz: Mess^{rs}. Shaw M^{c}Leod and M^{c}Kenzie—9 clerks, 10 Guides and 300 men or Engages to be at the Entrance of the French River about the 20th to 25th May—at S^{t}. Marys 1st @ 4th June, and at Fort William on the N. W. part of Lake Superior about 22^{d} @ 25th June—

To assemble at S^{t}. Marys for the purpose of taking down the Companys property to Montreal about the latter end of August, or Early in September in 30 @ 40 Canoes viz.—3 Agents—2 Proprietors—8 Clerks—10 Guides—250 men or Engages—also if required, as many Indians as the Company have influence over in that quarter, say from 300 @ 500—

* The sign generally used for "at" is in these memoranda used in the sense of "to."

The Agents of the N. W. Co. beg leave to observe that they will on all occasions be ready not only to protect their own property, but to Exert all the influence they possess over the Canadians and Indians to induce them to follow their Example—at the same time they take this opportunity of Expressing their gratitude to his Excellency for having taken the means necessary for the protection of the Fur Trade into such early Consideration.—

Montreal 13th Jany. 1812.

The above was furnished by the Agents of the N. West Compy. at my request.

A. Gray,
Actg. Dy. Qr. Mr. Gen[l].

Archives, C. 676, p. 78.

Enclosure. Memorandum on Loyalty of Inhabitants of Michillimackinac Country.

Memorandum respecting Indians and other persons inhabiting the Posts, in the Indian Country where the Michilimackinac Company trade, who in the event of a War between Great Britain and America could be depended upon to Join the British at the Island of St. Joseph Lake Huron at a short notice in the Spring—

One Hundred whites English and Canadian and about three Hundred Indians.

The other Indians throughout the Country where the Company trade are all disatisfied with the American Government, and would in my opinion be glad of a good opportunity to Commence hostilities against them.

Montreal 13th January 1812.

C. Pothier,
Agent p. Michilima Compy.

Archives, C. 728, p. 68.

Memoranda of General Brock on plans for Defence of Canada.

Memoranda * to be submitted to His Excellency the Gov^r^. in Chief by desire of Major Gen^l^. Brock.—

To reinforce the 41^st^ by sending up their Recruits and to send the Reg^t^. to Amherstburg together with 50 Artillery.

To send Ordnance suited to the Reduction of Detroit (4 to 6 eight Inch Mortars).

To explain the nature of the Offensive operations proposed in that quarter.

Militia on the Detroit side 300 men mostly Canadians. Kentucky Population 400,000 Souls. Amherstburg population furnishes 700 Militia. Indians in the vicinity from 2 to 3000,—At the Grand River 2 to 300.

To send the 49^th^ or some other effective Reg^t^. to the Niagara Frontier with a proportion of Artillery.

To send a Reg^t^. to Kingston together with a Detach^t^. of Artillery.

To send an Officer of Rank to Kingston to take charge of that Frontier.

It is proposed to select from the Militia 2 Companies from each Reg^t^. as flank Companies which will produce as Volunteers about 1800 Men.

It is proposed to raise Corps of Volunteers which may produce 1200 Men.

To lay up the Ships next winter at York and by degrees remove the Naval Yard.

To provide Materials for ten More Batteaux at Kingston and at Amherstburg.

To Build one Gun Boat (as an experiment) at Long Point.

To send Plans of the Quebec Boats to York. The Gun to unship and lie in the hold in bad weather.

* In the margin of this memo. are many pencilled comments, unsigned. This and the following document are undated, but seem to have been written about the beginning of February, 1812.

To Fortify the Harbour of Amherstburg.

The co-operation of the N. West and S. West Companies—To take the Post of Michilimackinack and remove S^{t}. Joseph's to it.

A small Work to protect the Anchorage of Vessels at Long Point, and to have 6 Gun Boats at D^{o}. if the Plan succeeds.

The Co-operation of the Indians will be attended with great expence in presents provisions &^{c}.

To send a person from Kingston to Reconnoitre Sackets Harbour. And to send from Niagara to examine the Harbours and Country on the South shore of Lake Ontario to see what preparation and if arming the Merchant Vessels.

Capt^{n}. Gilkinson at Prescot. To enquire if he will take a Naval Command.

Capt^{n}. Fish to Command the New Schooner to be built at York.

To superanuate Commodore Grant and appoint L^{t}. Hall Senior Officer.

L^{t}. Barwis to command the New Schooner and

2^{d} Lieu^{t}. Rollette to be appointed first and to Command the Hunter.

To Superanuate Commodore Steel and appoint Capt^{n}. Earle Senior Officer and to Command the Royal George.

To appoint and to Command the Moira.

To mount 6.24 p^{r}. Carronades on Field Carriages to be used as occasion may require.

To send two Companies of the Newfoundland Reg^{t}. to act as Seamen and Marines.

To Augment the Establishment by sending an addition of 100 Seamen to the Lakes.

To purchase all the Cordage from Capt^{n}. Mills at Amherstburg as this tends greatly to promote the growth of hemp.

To submit the Mem^{o}. from Lieu^{ts}. Dewar and Hall.

Archives, C. 728, p. 71.

CONDITIONS UPON WHICH IT IS PROPOSED TO RAISE VOLUNTEER CORPS FOR THE SERVICE OF UPPER CANADA.

1st. The Corps to be in numbers proportionate to the population and local circumstances of their Districts.

2nd. The Corps are to be Light or Rifle.

3rd. The Volunteers to engage for three years, or during the War, should it take place with the United States within that period.

4th. The Corps are to be called out and embodied ninty three days in each Year, that they may be trained and disciplined, this period to be between seed time and harvest.

5th. When the Corps are embodied, the Officers and men will receive the same pay and Rations as the Troops of the Line.

6th. The Noncommissioned Officers and Privates to be cloathed by Government at the Rate of one Suit of Cloaths for every three hundred and Sixty five days, that they may be embodied or called out and at the time of their first joining, each Volunteer will be entitled to receive One Guinea for the purpose of providing himself with a Knapsack turnscrew, &c.

7th. Government is to furnish the Arms and accoutrements except in cases where the Individual may have provided his own Rifle in which case an allowance will be made to him for the same.

8th. The Head Quarters of the respective Corps will be established in the Districts of Johnstown, Kingston, Niagara, London, and Amherstburg—to which places and their vicinity their Services will be restricted, excepting in the event of War, in which case they will march wherever the exigencies may require, it being understood that the extent of their Services will be governed by the Provisions of the Militia Act.

9th. The Staff consisting of an Adjutant, Quarter Master, Serjeant Major, Drill Serjeants and one Bugle or Drum per Company will receive permanent pay.

10th. The Establishment of each Company will consist of One Captain, Two Subalterns, Two Serjeants, Two Corporals One Bugle or Drum and fifty privates.

11th. A Major will be appointed to command should four Companies be raised in One District—And Eight Companies will entitle a Corps to have a Lieutenant Colonel.

12. All the Officers to be appointed by the Governor in Chief or General Commanding in the Province.

Memo.

ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBERS LIKELY TO BE RAISED IN EACH DISTRICT

	Companies.	Total.
Johnstown	8	400
Kingston	6	300
Niagara	8	400
London	4	200
Amherstburg	6	300
Total		1600

Memo.

Queries

Should His Excellency the Commander of the Forces sanction the raising the above force

Can the Cloathing be immediately furnished or will a compensation be allowed the Volunteer who may provide himself with the same

Might not the Commissaries at each Station be directed to pay the Captains on the Muster Roll of their Companies countersigned by their Commanding Officer and approved by the Inspecting Field Officers, or Officer Commanding the District

Where Barracks are not Sufficient will the General Commanding be authorized to provide the Necessary accommodations.

Archives, C. 676, p. 86.

From Brock at York to Prevost at ——

[Endorsement] From M. Gen.^{l} Brock by Capt. Gray York 6th Feb^{y}. 1812.

York U.C.
February 6th 1812.

Sir,

I entered so fully in my dispatch of the 3^{d} december into the state of this Province that I shall confine myself on this occasion to very few observations. The primary object to which I am anxious to call the attention of Your Excellency is the inadequacy of the Military force to the defence of such extended frontier. In making this representation I am aware at this juncture of the necessity of limiting as low as possible the force to be employed on this Service.

The more information I receive the stronger I am impressed with the necessity of being formidable at Amherstburg. Were we in a condition to act offensively in that quarter the greatest good would be sure to result from it. The Indians in the vicinity would, in that case, willingly co-operate with us. Their example would, if I am correctly informed, be soon followed by the numerous tribes living on the Missoury, who are represented as very inveterate against the Americans. By these means an important diversion would be made, and points very assailable preserved from attack. The greatest efforts are making at Detroit to put the Fort in a complete state of defence, and I am persuaded it is already too strong to carry by assault, and without the aid of Mortars anything we could do against it would probably be unavailing—They have there a large depot of ordnance.

Kingston in its present state, is very much exposed to insult. An Officer of high rank is very necessary at that

important Post, but I have already communicated these interesting facts, and as Captain Gray is possessed of my most secret thoughts respecting the measures best calculated to meet every emergency I beg leave to refer your Excellency to him for such further information as may be required.

Aware of the abilities of this Officer it is with some degree of hesitation I presume to solicit his return to this Province, but if your Excellency can conveniently spare him I shall consider myself particularly obliged, in which case I earnestly request he may be appointed to regulate the Quarter Master General's department in this Province with a Staff Rank such as his merit may be thought to entitle him.

I am happy to inform your Excellency that the House of Assembly which met last Monday appears disposed to meet my wishes in every particular. The Militia Act is to undergo a revision much for the better, and I am not without the hope of being able to get the House to consent to allow the Field Officers of the line to command all denominations in the Militia.

I was so occupied the whole of the day that I have only found time to write late this evening, but being unwilling to allow Captain Gray to return without taking my grateful acknowledgments to your Excellency for your great attention in sending this Officer to me, I have written these few hasty lines principally with that view.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient
and very Humble
Servant
Isaac Brock
M. G.

Archives, C. 228, p. 21.

From Brock at York to Prevost at ——.

York U. C. 12th febv 1812

Sir/

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter dated the 23d Ulto. with its enclosure, and in answer have to request your Excellency to lay my humble acknowledgements before His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, for his gracious compliance with my solicitation to visit England.

Being now placed in a high ostensible situation, and the state of public affairs with the American Government indicating a strong presumption of an approaching rupture between the two countries, I beg leave to be allowed to remain in my present command.

The uniform confidence which Your Excellency has been pleased to repose in my endeavours to promote The King's Service, permit me to assure Your Excellency is a strong additional motive with me for entreating permission to remain at this juncture under the immediate orders of your Excellency.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
very obedt and humble Servt
Isaac Brock
M G—

Archives, C. 1168, p. 93.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec, 13 February 1812.

General Orders.

His Excellency The Commander of the Forces, having thought proper to Order the Levy of a Corps of Light Infantry Fencibles, to be raised in these Provinces, is pleased to appoint Colonel Baynes the Adjutant General to take upon him the General superintendance of this Service, under His Excellency's immediate Instructions, and to nominate Capt^{n}. Edw^{d}. M^{c}Donald of the 8th or King's Reg^{t}. to be employed in recruiting the Levy, with the Local and temporary Rank of Major, and to be invested with Power and Authority to discharge the duties of a Field Officer Commanding the Corps, but he is not to be called upon to perform any other Military Duty. Ensign Leslie of the 8th (or King's) Reg^{t}. is appointed to act as Pay Master. Serjeant Matheson of the Canadian Fencibles to do duty as Q^{r}. M^{r}. Lieu^{t}. M^{c}Pherson 8th (or King's) Reg^{t}. to be employed on the Recruiting service at Montreal.

(signed) Edw^{d}. Baynes
Adj^{t}. Gen^{l}. N.A.

Archives, C. 688a, p. 26.

From Brock at York to John McGill, Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary General, at ——.

Original York 29th Feb^{y} 1812

Sir,

In order to obviate the inconvenience that might arise to the public Service, from any further delay in making arrangements for providing the requisite supplies for the use of the Troops, and Departments &c^{a}. and for the Indians in Upper Canada, from the 1st October 1812 to 1st October 1813 inclusive; I request you will lose no time in making the necessary purchases, agreeably to the manner pointed out by The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury; which are to be lodged at the several Posts in conformity with the specifications marked for each, upon the Statement which shall be hereafter transmitted, deducting a proportionate quantity of Pork for the supply of Fresh Beef viz^{t}.

TOTALS

Flour	582,900 Pounds.
Pork	322,848 Pounds.
Peas	3,131 Bushels.

I am Sir,
Your Most Obedient Servant
(Signed) Isaac Brock
M. Gen^{l}

A True Copy
J. B. GLEGG
Capt^{n}. ADC

Archives, C. 228, p. 26.

From Colonel Edward MacDonnell, Q.M.G., at Montreal to Prevost at ——.

Montreal 5th March 1812

Sir,

I Have the honor to report to you that I arrived here this morning having spent two days between Niagara and Fort Erie, and two at York, on my route hither from Amherstburg, which Post, I left on the 15th Ultº. Having some arrangements to make preparatory to moving my family from hence, I take the liberty of requesting your Excellencys permission to remain here, for a week, at the expiration of which, I shall proceed to Quebec by the way of Stt. Johns, Chambly, William Henry &c.—I transmit herewith two letters Addressed to your Excellency which Major General Brock committed to my care.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellencys most Obedient
humble Servant
Edward MacDonnell.
Col: Quarr Mastr Genl

Archives, C. 796, p. 61.

From Liverpool, Downing Street, to Prevost at ——.

Nº. 8. Downing Street
30th March 1812

Sir,

I have had the honour of submitting to His Royal Highness The Prince Regent your letter of the 3d Decr. 1811, inclosing the Conditions on which it was proposed to raise a Regiment of Light Infantry from the Glengarry Emigrants: and I am to signify to you the Commands of His Royal High-

ness that you should for the present suspend the further progress of the measures which may have been adopted towards the formation of this Corps—On a reference to the Correspondence in this office it appears that in a letter dated the 6th April 1808 Sir James Craig informed Lord Castlereagh that he had acceded to the Proposal of the Inhabitants of the County of Glengarry to raise a Corps of Fencible Men for the defence of the North American Colonies; but in a second letter dated the 31st of May 1808 he states that by further enquiry, and by personal Communication with two of the Gentlemen who were principally concerned in the offer of the Glengarry Emigrants, one of whom was Mr. McDonell the Clergyman, who came down for the purpose: he had been able to ascertain more correctly the means which they possess of accomplishing the Object in View—He adds that he is sorry to inform his Lordship that their zeal had far exceeded their ability, and that finding there was no probability of raising nearly the number of Men proposed in any reasonable time in which they might be fit for Service, he had been under the necessity of recalling the Letter of Service which he had previously issued—

Under these Circumstances and not having received subsequently any information from which I can infer that there is at present a greater probability that the Services of a Corps so raised will be more effective, than they would have been at that period, when the attempt to embody it was abandoned by Sir James Craig; I have not given directions for the Supply of Clothing required in your letter of the 10th December 1811—

It appears that you had sent Capt. Macdonnell to the Township in which the Emigrants were settled in Upper Canada to ascertain their ability to afford a Regiment of Light Infantry—

I am to desire that when Capt. Macdonnell's report shall be received, you will transmit it to this office, together with

all such other information, in detail, as may be useful to His Majesty's Government in finally determining upon the Expediency of this Measure, & until their decision is communicated to you it will not be expedient that any Encouragement should be held out to the Glengarry Emigrants to expect that the offer of their Services will be accepted, as it would be only under Circumstances of more urgent necessity than at present appear to exist, that His Majesty's Ministers would be disposed to sanction the embodying of them into a Regiment upon the Conditions proposed—

You are authorized to make any reasonable Compensation to Individuals who may have been employed by you in Services connected with the proposed formation of this Corps.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Most Obedient,
Humble Servant
Liverpool.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 124.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 13th April 1812—

General Orders.

The Commander of the Forces considering it expedient for furthering His Majesty's Service in the present situation of Affairs to revive the appointment of Commissy of Transport in the District of Three Rivers, His Excellency is pleased to approve of Thomas Coffin Esqr. (Colonel of Militia Forces) being employed in that situation, who will be entitled to the same Pay as received by Mr. Baby and Mr. Dupré in similar Situations—Vizt.—Five Shillings Army Sterling per day from the 25th instant and until further Orders.

(signed) Edwd. Baynes
Adjt. Genl.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 129.

[Adjutant General's Office
Quebec 24th April 1812.]

G. O.

The Commander of the Forces is pleased to direct that from the 1st May ensuing, or as soon as possible after that period, all Batteaux and other Craft of Burthen for the conveyance of Troops or the Transport of Stores, throughout the Canadas, shall be transferred to, and remain in charge of the Commissariat, which Departmt will be held responsible to keep them constantly in repair, and the proportion hereafter-mentioned, at each of the Military posts, always in readiness to meet the Requisitions of the Qr. Master Genl. and the Officers of that Department—Vizt.—

Posts	*Batteaux.*
Quebec	30
Three Rivers	20
William Henry	20
Montreal	100
La Chine	25
Kingston	30
York	10
Niagara	12
Amherstburg	12
St. Josephs	4
	263

All Gun Boats and Armed Vessels of every description, to remain in charge and under the Orders of the Quarter Master General's Department.—

(signed) Edwd. Baynes
Adjt. Genl. N.A.

Archives, C. 676, p. 110.

From Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. St. George to Brock.

Extract Amherstburg 7th May 1812.

"As the Queen Charlotte will not be able to sail before the 12th I think it necessary to send a man with this to inform you of a Report that we have here, which has been brought by a person in the employment of a Merchant, and who has been lately in the Interior—He reports that 1200 of the Ohio Militia were to rendezvous at Urbans the last week in April—And at the same time Colonel Kingsbury was to have 1000 Regulars at Cincinnati, both, he says, were destined for the Michigan territory and Detroit—What credit the man is entitled to, I know not, he came here from Detroit, where he made the same report, and also at Sandwich.—

They are making preparations on the opposite side, are embodying a Troop of Cavalry (75 men) and a company of Infantry of the same number, enlistments going on rapidly—They have erected a three Gun Battery (24 pndrs. in the rear of the great Store, between the wood warf and King's warf on the rise of the hill from the River—We have various reports here, and so contradictory I know not what to think—But the prevailing one is, their very great dread of the Indians, so much so, that the inhabitants of Detroit have repeatedly applied to their Government for Troops. Provisions by all accounts, are very scarce there.

(Signed) T. B. St: George
I. F. O. Canadian
Militia.

Archives, C. 676, p. 112.

From Brock to Prevost.

York U.C. May 16th, 1812.

Sir,

I have this day been honored with Your Excellency's confidential communication dated the 30th Ulto.—

I have long since thought that nothing but the public voice restrained The United States' Government from Commencing direct hostilities, and it is but reasonable to expect that they will seek every opportunity to enflame the minds of the people against England in order to bring them the more readily into their measures—It will be my study to guard against any event that can give them any just cause of complaint, but the proximity of the two Countries will in all probability produce collisions, which however accidently brought about, will be represented as so many acts of aggression—It would not Surprize me if their first attempt to create irritation was the Seizing the islands in the channel to which both countries lay claim * ; Such was represented to Sir James Craig on a former occasion, to be their intention—

In addition to the force specified by your Excellency, I understand that Six Companies of the Ohio Militia are intended for Detroit—Our interest with the Indians will materially suffer in consequence of these extensive preparations being allowed to proceed with impunity—I have always considered that the reduction of Detroit would be the signal for a cordial co-operation on their part, and if we are not in sufficient force to effect this object no reliance ought to be placed on the Indians.

About forty regulars were last week added to the garrison of Niagara, and by all accounts barracks are to be immediately constructed at Black Rock, almost opposite Fort Erie, for a large force—

I returned three days ago from an excursion to Fort Erie, the Grand river, where the Indians of the Six Nations are settled, and back by the head of the Lake. Every Gentleman with whom I had an opportunity of conversing, assured me that an exceeding good disposition prevailed among the people—The Flank Companies in the Districts in which they have been established, were instantly completed with

* These were islands in the St. Lawrence, in the Kingston district, among them being Wolfe and Carleton.

volunteers, and indeed an almost unanimous disposition to serve is daily manifested—I shall proceed to extend this system now that I have ascertained the people are so well disposed—but my means are very limited.

I propose detaching one hundred Rank & File of the 41st to Amherstburg almost immediately.

I have the honor to be,
with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's
Faithful and Humble
Servant
Isaac Brock
M. G.

Archives, Q. 117, pt. 2, p. 292.

Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.

From Prevost to Liverpool.

N°. 44/46

My Lord Quebec 18th May 1812.

In obedience to the Commands signified in Your Lordship's Dispatch N° 7 of the 13th February, I now have the honor to report upon the Military position of His Majesty's North American Provinces, and the means of Defending them.

Upper Canada—

Commencing with Upper Canada, as the most contiguous to the Territory of the United States and frontier to it along it's whole Extent, which renders it, in the event of War, more liable to immediate attack.

Fort St. Joseph—

Fort St. Joseph, distant about 1500 miles from Quebec: consists of Lines of strong Pickets enclosing a Block House,—It stands on the Island St. Joseph within the detour, com-

municating the head of Lake Huron with Lake Superior ;— It can only be considered as a Post of assemblage for friendly Indians, and in some degree a Protection for the North West Fur Trade :—The Garrison at S^{t}. Joseph's consists of a small Detachment from the Royal Artillery and one Company of Veterans.

Fort Amherstburg—

Fort Amherstburg situated on the River Detroit at the head of Lake Erie, is of importance from its being the Dock Yard and Marine Arsenal for the Upper Lakes :—

It is also a place of reunion for the Indians inhabiting that part of the Country, who assemble there in considerable numbers to receive Presents :—The Fort has been represented to me as a temporary Field Work in a ruinous state ; it is now undergoing a repair to render it tenable :—The Garrison at Amherstburg consists of a Subaltern's Detachment of Artillery, and about 120 men of the 41st Regiment, the whole Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel S^{t}. George, an Inspecting Field Officer :—The Militia in its Vicinity amounts to about 500 Men.....

PROVINCIAL STATUTES OF LOWER CANADA

Quebec 1812

Cap. II.

An Act declaratory of the time at which the enrollment of the Militia shall take place during the present year.

(19th May, 1812).

Preamble

WHEREAS doubts may arise concerning the enrollment of the Militia during the present year, Be it therefore enacted and declared by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council

and Assembly of the Province of Lower Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled, "An Act "to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the fourteenth year "of His Majesty's reign, intituled, "*An Act for making more* "*effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec* "*in North America*," and to make further provision for the "Government of the said Province;" And it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that every person residing within this Province, who by Law is or shall be liable to serve in the Militia thereof, shall present himself to be enrolled within ten days from and after the passing of this Act, any thing contained in any Act passed during the present Session or at any time heretofore, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Militia men to enrol themselves within ten days from and after the passing of this Act.

Archives, G. 398, p. 53.

From Brock to Liverpool.

York Upper Canada

N°. 6. 25th May 1812.

My Lord,

I have much Satisfaction in being able, on my return from an excurtion thro' different parts of this Province, to report to Your Lordship, that I found every where a good disposition, and a high degree of industry among the Inhabitants.—A very general determination has been manifested by all ranks, to defend the Province, in the event of hostilities with the United States, and every Gentleman, whose judgment and Loyalty can be relied on, assures me, that the people taken in a wide sense, are as sincere, as they are ardent in their professions.—The Flank Companies formed under the Supplementary Militia Act passed the last Session of the Provincial Parliament, were readily completed with Volunteers of the best description, to the extent my limited means permitted.

This Force amounts to about Two thous[d]., and could be augmented, I am confident, to treble that number, had I sufficiency of Arms for them—Those remaining at my disposal, I think proper to retain in store, to be on any emergency issued to the Militia who occupy the points the most exposed to attack—I have thought it my duty, to make application to the Governor in Chief for a fresh supply of Arms and Accoutrements, and His Excellency has been pleased to promise to attend to my wishes the moment he possesses the means.

The Militia who are preparing for service, receive no sort of compensation either in pay or Clothing—This consideration, the handsome manner they volunteered, together with the sound policy of giving at this moment encouragement, to the Military of every description, suggested the measures to which
a.b.c. the accompanying Documents apply.

I could not but view a question, the decision of which, may at a future period dispose of a large portion of the Waste Land of the Crown, as proper to be submitted to the consideration of His Majesty's Executive Council, and the Board having unanimously concurred with me, in the expediency of humbly soliciting His Royal Highness The Prince Regent, for his gracious permission to act upon the principles stated in my representation, it is with increased confidence I presume to request Your Lordship to give support to a proposition, which nothing but the advancement of the King's service, could possibly suggest—I made it my business to visit lately, the Indians of the Six Nations, who are settled on the Grand River—They appeared well disposed to join His Majesty's Troops, whenever called upon.—

But unfortunately divisions exist among them, on points which some white people find an interest in keeping alive.—M[r]. Claus, the Deputy Superintendent General, has done everything in his power to bring about a reconciliation, but a Chief of some influence, whose Daughter is married to a

white person, by whom he is instigated, and for whom he has been long trying to procure a Grant of Five thousand Acres of the Indian land, cannot be pacified.

His party is small, but capable of doing much mischief—The Six Nations have from the beginning resisted his application—There are so many points connected with the welfare and happiness of the Indians, calling for the interference of Government, that I shall deem it my duty to collect the necessary materials as soon as possible, to enable Your Lordship to form a correct judgment of their actual situation.

The utmost attention is continued to be paid, that no just cause of umbrage is given in our intercourse with the Western Tribes, to the United States Government, which necessarily diminishes our influence with that injured people.

Since the enactment of the Embargo by the United States, Reinforcements of Regulars and Militia have arrived at most of their Frontier Posts, but in no number to occasion the least uneasiness.

I have the honor to be
With high respect
My Lord
Your Lordship's &ca
Isaac Brock
M. G. &
Presid^{t}.

Enclosure a. In Despatch N^{o} 6.

Major General Brock thinks it proper to submit to the consideration of His Majesty's Executive Council, whether it might not be expedient at the present juncture, when the Country is menaced with an Invasion, humbly to move His Royal Highness The Prince Regent, for his gracious permission to place the family of every soldier, Regular, and Militia; also every mariner employed on the Lakes, who may be killed

in the course of the contest, upon the U.E. List—And to extend this advantage to such Mariner and Militia-man, for whom no provision is made, who may be maimed, or disabled, upon actual service.

And should the Executive Council concur in the expediency of the proposed measure, The Major General leaves it to their Judgment to determine whether the times do not call for, an immediate disclosure of their intentions.

York 19th May 1812.

Enclosure b. In Despatch N° 6.

Extract from the proceedings in Council, dated 19th May 1812.

"His Honor The President submitted to the Board, a written paper (A.) which being read, the Board unanimously concurred in the expediency of the measure proposed, and recommended that the intended application to His Royal Highness, The Prince Regent, should be made Public forthwith."—

(truly Extracted)

(signed) John Small,
Clk. of the Executive Council.

Enclosure c. In Despatch N°. 6.

Militia General Order.

Government House
York, 25th May 1812.

The very satisfactory Report made to the President, by the Officers Commanding Corps, of the Spirit and Zeal manifested by the Men, in volunteering their services in the Flank Companies, has afforded His Honor the most lively gratification, and confirmed the Opinion which he was

always disposed to entertain, of their determination to defend bravely their Country, and in immitation of their veteran Fathers, evince by deeds, the ardent Loyalty they have so often professed—Conduct so honorable and dignified, has not failed making a deep impression on His Majesty's Provincial Government, and to encrease if possible, their anxious desire to contribute every thing in their power towards the Comfort and happiness of the people.

With this view they have humbly solicited His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, for his gracious permission to allot to the Wives and Children of such Soldiers, Militia, and Mariners, who may be killed in the present Contest, a portion of the Waste Lands of the Crown; and to afford relief to such as may be disabled in the Service, for whom no provision is otherwise provided.

By Command of the President

(signed) Æneas Shaw
Adjutant Gen[l]. Militia.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 162.

Adjutant Generals' Office

Quebec 30[th] May 1812.

General Orders.

In conformity to His Majesty's Regulations respecting the formation of Companies in the Royal Veteran Battalions, the 10[th] Royal Veteran Battalion will form a proper proportion of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates, who are least capable of Active Service, into Two Companies, which are to be denominated Invalid Companies;—the other Companies are to be called Garrison Companies.—As soon as the Invalid Companies are formed, they are to be quartered at William Henry.

G.O.

A Board of General Officers is directed to assemble on Monday next at such hour and place as Major Gen[l]. De Rottenburg will appoint—to investigate and report for the information of His Excellency The Commander of the Forces upon such matters as will be brought before it.

Major General De Rottenburg—President.
Major General Glasgow, Royal Artillery } Members.
Major General Shank, Can[a]. Regiment }

The Deputy Judge Advocate will attend the Board.

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adj[t]. Gen[l]. N.A.

Archives, C. 676, p. 144.

From Colonel William Claus to Brock.

Copy. Amherstburg 16[th] June 1812.

Sir,

On my arrival at this Post two days ago, the enclosed Speech from Teekumthie, in answer to the Message sent to him by the Superintendent of Indian affairs by your order, was put into my hands—I immediately sent to the standing stone for Esidore Chaine, a Huron, who was the bearer of the message, and received from him the following information.

[1] Teekumthie on hearing of Chaine being on the way with a Message advanced to Machekethe about Sixty miles West of Kickayuga, or Fort M[W]ayne, with twelve different Nations, amounting to about Six hundred men, two leading Chiefs and two War Chiefs of each Nation; they had plenty of Corn with the exception of the Shawonoes, who lost their's after the engagement with Governor Harrison—Teekumthie left at his Village three hundred men when he advanced to meet Chaine; they have been constantly employed in making

[*Notes in red ink.*]

[1] The Prophet's Brother.

Bows and Arrows, not having any ammunition; Teekumthie was much dissatisfied with his Brother for engaging Governor Harrison, last fall, as their plans were not sufficiently matured —he further states, that Governor Harrison held a General Council about the Full Moon in May, and called on the different Nations to deliver up their men who had committed murder on the Big-Knives, (meaning the Americans) the Potowatamies being particularly pointed at, replied, that before they could give an answer they must consult their Nation and that at the next full-moon they would give him an answer—he replied that it was very well, and that he would wait with patience, but if he did not hear from them by that time, he would march against that nation and cut them off. Chaine mentioned to me that the Indians knew the Americans too well, to believe that their intention was to attack only the one nation, and if they struck a blow, it would be against the whole, and that they would not be asleep—That all the Nations are aware of the desire the Americans have of destroying the [2]Red people and taking their Country from them.

On examining the issues of Ammunition to Indians at Amherstburg, for the last six months, I find that in Powder that they have received only 1,211 pounds, making a difference of nineteen hundred and twenty-one pounds less than at former periods—of Lead, not one ounce has been issued to them since last December, which will account for the increased consumption of provisions.[3]

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your Most Obedient
And very Humble Servant
(signd) W. Claus
D:S:G

[2] The English.

[3] Having no Lead the Indians cannot supply themselves with food by hunting.

Archives, C. 676, p. 147.

Enclosure. Speech of Indians on the Wabash in reply to Message of Colonel M. Elliott.

Speech of the Shawanoes, Kikapoos & Winibiegoes, delivered by Teehkumthai* at Machekethie, on the Wabash, in answer to the Message I sent to them by the Hurons last Winter.

Father, & Brothers Hurons!
Brother Hurons,

You say you were employed by our Father and Your own Chiefs to come and have some conversation with us, and we are happy to see You and to hear Your and our Father's Speech. We heartily thank You both for having taken the condition of our poor Women and children to Your considerations: We plainly see that You pity us by the concern You shew for our welfare; and we should deem ourselves much to blame if we did not listen to the Counsel of Our Father and our Brothers the Hurons.

Father and Brothers! We have not brought these misfortunes on ourselves; We have done nothing wrong, but we will now point out to You those who have occasioned all the mischief—

Our Younger Brothers the Putewatemies (pointing to them) in spite of our repeated counsel to them to remain quiet and live in peace with the Big Knives, would not listen to us—When I left home last Year to go to the Creek Nation, I passed at Post Vincennes and was stopped by the Big Knives, and did not immediately know the reason, but I was soon

* Also written Tecumtha, Tecumthai, Tecumthe, Tecumthei, Tecumpthsey, Tecumshee, Tecumseh and Tecumseth, meaning The Crouching Panther—a war chief of the small band of Shawanese Indians residing in the valley of the Wabash river in Indiana. He greatly distinguished himself in the action near Fort Meigs, May 5, 1813; and was killed at Moraviantown, October 5, 1813. In March 1814 his young son and daughter visited the governor-general at Quebec by special invitation.

informed that the Putewatemies had killed some of their people; I told the Big Knives to remain quiet until my return, when I should make peace and quietness prevail—On my return I found my Village reduced to ashes by the Big Knives—You cannot blame Your Younger Brothers the Shawanoes for what has happened: the Putewatemies occasioned the misfortune. Had I been at home and heard of the advance of the American Troops towards our Village, I should have gone to meet them and shaking them by the hand, have asked them the reason of their appearance in such hostile guise—

Father & Brothers! You tell us to retreat or turn to one side should the Big Knives come against us; had I been at home in the late unfortunate affair I should have done so, but those I left at home were (I cannot call them men) a poor set of people, and their scuffle with the Big Knives I compare to a struggle between little children who only scratch each others faces—The Kikapoos and Winibiegoes have since been at Post Vincennes and settled that matter amicably.

Father & Brothers. The Putewatemies hearing that our Father and You were on the way here for peaceable purposes, grew very angry all at once and killed Twenty-seven of the Big Knives.

Brothers!—We Shawanoes, Kikapoos and Winibiegoes, hope You will not find fault with us for having detained You so long here; We were happy to see You and to hear Your and Our Father's words; and it would surely be strange if we did not listen to our Father and our eldest Brother.

Father & Brothers! We will now in a few words declare to You our whole hearts—If we hear of the Big Knives coming towards our villages to speak peace, we will receive them; but if We hear of any of our people being hurt by them, or if they unprovokedly advance against us in a hostile manner, be assured we will defend ourselves like men.—And if we hear of any of our people having been killed, We will imme-

diately send to all the Nations on or towards the Mississippi, and all this Island will rise as one man—Then Father and Brothers it will be impossible for You or either of You to restore peace between us.

Amherstburg 8th June 1812.
(signed) M. Elliott S.I.A.

16th June 1812,
true Copy
(signed) W. Claus D.S.G.

Archives, C. 796, p. 118.

From Major de Salaberry at Chambly to Freer at ——.

Fort Chambly June 18th 1812—

Dear Sir,

It is truly mortifying to me to be under the necessity to acquaint you with a circumstance, which will not fail to give His Excellency the Governor in Chief a miserable idea of the Canadian Voltigeurs: yet it is my duty to do so, in justice to the Service and to myself. In your report to His Excellency I trust in your judgment to make the same official or private, for I am aware of the delicacy of the subject, particularly in our infant state and placed under such laws as those of the Militia, that are as yet so little understood.

I have to state the mutiny of that part of the Corps raised in the district of Montreal, encamped on the Crown land of Chambly. The affair took place as follows: On tuesday Evening—16 June, (two days after my arrival,) these men were ordered to parade, when the whole of them (Non commissioned officer excepted) refused to fall in. I repaired immediately to the spot, accompanied by all the officers present, where I met the same obstinate resistance to my orders, and it was not until coercive means were used by the officers & myself that we succeeded in seizing the Ring-leaders and forced the companies to form.—Upon immediate

enquiry into the causes which led them to such acts of insubordination, I found their complaints to be short allowance of bread and provisions and an idea that an officer had arrived from Montreal for the purpose of enlisting them as regular Soldiers. I am sorry to say that with regard to the bread, there is room to suppose that during my absence, the men have not received their full allowance; and with respect to the pork, had the orders which I gave out previous to my departure been obeyed by Captain Perrault, there is every reason to hope that this business would never have taken place. In short his inattention appears to have been conspicuous. He was not here during the fracas, but I expect him momently.—It is evident that the most mutinous of the men, are those who have the least complaints to offer.—I enclose you a return of the men present at Chambly, but I am sorry to say that a great number of the men engaged at Montreal are absent. I have sent officers to look for them. It does not appear that great trouble was taken to collect them during my absence, altho' I had given positive orders to that effect.

I am happy to say, that the Quebec men interfered in no ways in the late affair. We had some trouble with them on the march, but it was occasioned by drunkenness.

I found great difficulty in quartering the men on my arrival here. The camp equipage was very deficient and is in a measure still so. The Barrack furniture is very incomplete. We have no Hospital, no surgery.—We want authority from you to hire a house to put in the Taylors and authority to hire a house to secure the Regimental Baggage. I do not know where to put the officers, no lodgings can be had for them.—The tents are very small and of a very inferior quality.

I must not omit to state that since the quelling of the disturbance, the men appear satisfied. I have done them all the justice in my power, and hope to have convinced them by argument of their folly: in fact they have acknowledge[d]

it.—I have not been able to procure a copy of the extract of the new Militia law, I trust you will have the goodness to send it me without delay, I cannot possibly act without it; also the new Militia articles of War, which I could not procure whilst in Quebec. I must also request information upon the manner of proceeding in our Regimental Courts Martial. Are the Members to be sworn or not? The Militia Articles of War say nothing concerning this.

I shall keep the mutineers confined till I hear His Excellency's determination respecting them.

I trust you will have the goodness to excuse the length of this letter and to believe me, with great esteem,

D^r^. Sir,
Your most obedient
humble servant
Ch: de Salaberry,
Maj^r^ C^n^. Voltigeurs.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 179.

Adjutant General's Office
Quebec 23^rd^ June 1812.

GEN^L^. ORDERS.

His Majesty's 8^th^ or King's Regiment is to encamp on the Plains of Abraham on such Ground as will be pointed out by the Quarter Master General, who will direct the necessary Camp Equipage to be issued.

A Guard is to be left in the Barrack in charge of the Regimental Stores and Baggage. The Barrack Master will avail himself of this favourable opportunity to cause the Barracks to be thoroughly cleansed & whitewashed, and to make any Repairs that may be requisite. Major General De Rottenburg will give the necessary Instructions and Orders for the formation of the Encampment of the 8^th^ (or King's) Reg^t^.

and for the details of duty to be performed in Garrison and Camp.'

Three Gun Boats are to proceed to Montreal to-morrow at 12 O'Clock, under the charge of Captain Skinner of the Royal Newf'dl^d. Reg^t with an appropriate Detachment of that Corps—the following Detachments are to embark on board the Gun Boats—at 12 O'Clock to morrow—the whole to be provided with Seven days Rations from their respective Corps.

8^th (or King's) Reg^t.—The Non Commissioned Officers and Private Men, selected by the Commanding Officer—and lent to drill the Glengary Light Infantry.

41^st Regiment.—Lieutenant Gordon & the men of that Regiment under Orders to join.

Glengary Light Infantry.—Lieut^t. Macaulay, and the Recruits of that Corps under Orders to join at Three Rivers.

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adj^t. Gen^l. N.A

Archives, C. 1168, p. 188.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 29^th June 1812.

Gen^l Orders.

The Government of the United States having declared War against Great Britain, opportunities will soon arise for the gratification of that irresistable desire, which the Army entrusted with the defence of His Majesty's American Provinces, must feel, for the acquirement of similar Laurels to those so gallantly won, and which now adorn our fellow Soldiers in Arms in Portugal and Spain.

The nearer we approach the hour of trial, the more important it becomes that a just sense should be entertained of the means of ensuring so desireable a result to our exertions,

it cannot therefore be too strongly impressed upon the minds of every Rank and denomination of Persons belonging to the Army in British North America, that this can only be accomplished by an unremitting regard to discipline, by a stedfast observance of the Rules of the Service, by implicit obedience to Orders, by zeal, promptitude, and precision in the exercise of them, and by a Cool, firm and determined conduct in the hour of difficulty or danger, and in Situations of Command.

From a due attention to the Cultivation and practice of these qualities so essentially requisite to form both the Officer and the Soldier, The Commander of the Forces can alone be enabled confidently to look forward, under the favor of Divine Providence, to the effectual defence of this portion of His Majesty's Dominions, and to the successful termination of the rash Contest in which the Rulers of the United States have so wantonly engaged the American People ; a Contest which The Commander of the Forces feels fully assured will furnish an additional proof, to the many which Our late Successes have afforded, that the like spirit prevades every portion of the Army for upholding the National honor, and for the supporting those just rights the maintenance of which has so long contributed to the Glory and Prosperity of the British Nation.

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adj^{t}. Gen^{l}. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 189.

Adjutant General's Office
Quebec 30th June 1812.

Gen^{l} Orders.

All Regiments having spare Arms in their possession are directed to deliver them into the Ordnance Store immediately, and to transmit Returns of the number of Stand delivered to the Adjutant General.

G. O.

The Commander of the Forces is pleased to direct that the Flank Companies of the 8th (or Kings) and 100th Regiments, and the Royal Newfoundland and Canadian Fencibles, be embodied under the Command of Colonel Young—A Subaltern Officer of Artillery with Two Light Six Pounders equipped according to the Regulations of the Car Brigade, be attached to the Flank Battalion.

Major General Glasgow is directed to select a suitable Detachment of Active Gunners under the Command of an intelligent Subaltern of Artillery.

The Flank Battalion is to be encamped on the Plains. The Quarter Master General will mark out the Ground for that Corps, and the 8th (or Kings) Regiment.

Major De Haren Canadian Regiment is attached to the Flank Battalion.

Major General De Rottenburg will give such Orders and Instructions as he may deem necessary for the formation and Encampment of the Flank Battalion.

G. O.

Major-General De Rottenburg will make the necessary Arrangements for bringing in the Detachment of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion stationed at Beauport.

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adjt. Genl. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 201.

Montreal 12th July 1812.

G: O:

The Cordon of Troops extending from La Prairie to St. Johns is to consist of the Flank Battalion, with half a Brigade of Light Artillery—vizt.—Two Six Pounders and a 5½ Inch Howitzer, and a Brigade of incorporated Militia.

Lieu^{t}. Colonels Murray and Warburton are attached to the Brigade of Militia.

Major General De Rottenburg will give the necessary Instructions and Orders for the Position to be occupied by the several Corps composing the Cordon.

The Flank Companies of the 49th Regiment are to join the Flank Battalion on it's arrival at Montreal. Major Plenderleath 49th Regiment is attached to the Flank Battalion. Colonel Young will assign the immediate charge of the Light Infantry Companies to that Officer, and of the Grenadiers to Major De Haren Canadian Fencibles.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 193.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 14th July 1812

Gen^{l} Orders.

The 100th Regiment to be held in readiness to embark at the shortest notice to land on the South Shore above S^{t}. Nicholas and march to William Henry.

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adj^{t}. Gen^{l}. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 203.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 23rd July 1812.

General Orders.

A Medical Board to assemble to-morrow morning at 10 O'Clock to examine such men of the 100th Regim^{t}. & Royal Newfoundland Fenc^{s}. as are deemed unfit for Service.

The Acting Dep^{y}. Inspector of Hospitals will appoint the place and time for the Board to assemble and nominate the Members : The Returns of the Board to be sent to the Adjutant General's Office by 2 O'Clock tomorrow afternoon.

G.O.

The 100th Regt. and the Flank Companies of the 103rd Regiment and the Detachment of Gunner Drivers, with a 6 Pdr. Field Piece, are to be embarked on board the Lord Cathcart Transport at 10 O'Clock on Monday Morning, to land at Cape Platoon on the south side of the River in conformity to a Route furnished by the Quarter Master General.

Depy. Asst. Quarter Mr. Genl. Davis will accompany this Detachment on it's March.

G.O.

When Salt Beef is issued to the Troops in lieu of the present Allowance of Pork, the Ration is to consist of One pound per day.

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adjt. Genl. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 204.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 24th July 1812.

Gent. Orders.

Major George Thesiger Depy. Barrack Mr. Genl. in the Canadas being arrived will take upon himself the duties of that Department.

G.O.

It having been represented to The Commander of the Forces that irregularities have occurred in several instances in the issue of Arms from the Depôts of small Arms at the different Stations, particularly at William Henry—where Arms belonging to the 100th Regiment and to the Berthier Militia have been exchanged at the Depôt, without any sufficient Authority. It is to be observed in future that the Depôts of Arms having been established for specific purposes, the Arms are not in any instance to be applyed to

any other use without permission of The Commander of the Forces: and the Officer in charge of the Ordnance Department at the Post is to make his issues in conformity to the Requisition he may receive duly authorized, and no Regiment is permitted to exchange the Arms in use but by special permission.

G.O.

Assis^{t}. Surgeon Waring of the 8th (or King's) Reg^{t}. is attached to the Flank Battalion.

G.O.

The Women and Children of Soldiers belonging to the Flank Battalion are permitted to receive their proportion of Rations at the Head Quarters of their respective Regiments in the Garrison of Quebec.

G.O.

The Detachments ordered to embark on Monday next on board the Lord Cathcart Transport will receive Rations while on board from the Ship, but are to take with them Field Rations for the number of days they will be on their March.

G.O.

Two Companies of the Royal Newfoundl^{d}. Regiment under Major Heathcote, to be in readiness to embark on board Gun Boats and Batteaux on Friday Morning, and to proceed to Montreal, at which place Major General De Rottenburg will give Instructions for the Detachment continuing it's Route to Kingston.—

In consequence of the nature of the Service required from the Royal Newf'dl^{d}. Reg^{t}. necessarily subdividing that Corps into small Detachments, Major Heathcote is directed to leave the Colours of the Regiment in this Garrison, to be lodged in the Ordnance Armoury.

. . . . . .

(signed) Edw^{d}. Baynes
Adj^{t}. Gen^{l}. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 214.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 27th July 1812.

General Orders.

The Royal Newfoundland Fencible Regiment will Embark on Thursday morning.

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adjt. General N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 221.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 3d August 1812.

Gent. Orders.

The Circumstances of the moment making it necessary that the Troops should move as lightly equipped as possible, The Commander of the Forces is pleased to direct that the portable Baggage of every Officer shall be contained in One Portmanteau, and that, when Corps or Detachments are directed to March, Carts in the following proportion only, shall be supplied to them.

For every 100 Men of which the Detachment may consist.	Number of Carts.
For the Carriage of the Light Baggage of the Officers including Pay Masters, Surgeon and Assistants, Quarter Masters, &c.	3
Provisions for one day	1
When ordered to be carried. Tents, Poles, Blankets and Intrenching Tools	2
When ordered to be carried. Camp Kettles	3
When ordered to be carried. Spare Ammunition	2
Total for 100 men	11

(signed) Rt. McDouall
Captn. Assist. Adjt. Genl.

Archives, G. 1168, p. 230.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 5th August 1812.

General Orders.

The 1st Battn. of the 1st (or Royal Scots) will hold itself in readiness to Disembark tomorrow morning at 4 O'Clock.

Major General Glasgow will be pleased to give the necessary Orders and Instructions as to their landing & being quartered in this Garrison.—

The Sick and Convalescents will disembark this afternoon at One O'Clock. The Senior Medical Officer Mr. Macaulay will give the necessary Orders for their accommodation.—

(signed) Rt. McDouall,
Captn. Assist. Adjt. Genl.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 232.

Adjutant General's Office

Quebec 6th August 1812.

General Orders.

The 8th (or King's) Regiment will strike their Tents tomorrow morning at 3 O'Clock, and commence their March for Montreal at Four :—They will take five days Provisions with them.—

The Quarter Master General will be pleased to give the necessary Orders and Instructions for the March.—

(signed) Rt. McDouall,
Assist. Adjt. Genl.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 243.

Head Quarters, Montreal

Adjutant General's Office

25th August 1812.

General Orders.

The Commander of the Forces has been pleased to approve of the following distribution of Batteaux being kept at the several Stations in Lower Canada, and the Officers commanding at the respective Posts are directed to see that these Boats are always kept in constant readiness—but are never to be permitted to be taken from the Post, but when required for duties of actual Military Service, and they are on all occasions where it is practicable to be brought back from such detached duties, to the Post from whence the Batteaux were Originally taken.

Posts.	*N°. of Boats.*
Chambly	Ten
William Henry	Eight
Isle aux Noix	Four
La Prairie	Six
La Chine	Twenty five
Three Rivers	Ten
Montreal	Unlimited—being
Quebec	General Depôts

The Posts above Three Rivers having any Supernumerary Batteaux are to take the earliest opportunity of sending them to Montreal, from whence they are to be supplied if necessary. The Post of Three Rivers is in like manner dependent on the Depôt of Batteaux at Quebec.—

G.O.

The Canadian Fencible Regiment to furnish a Detachment of Two Companies to proceed immediately with Twelve

Batteaux and a small Gun Boat to Chambly, leaving two of the Batteaux at William Henry—further Orders will be given respecting the two Companies which are to remain attached to the Montreal District.

(signed) Edward Baynes,
Adjt. General N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 249.

Head Quarters, Montreal
6th September 1812.

General Orders.

N°. 1. His Excellency The Commander of the Forces is pleased to nominate and appoint the undernamed Officers to hold the local Rank of Colonels in the Army & to be obeyed as such.—

Lieut^t. Colonel H. Scott—103^rd Regiment.

Lieut^t. Colonel S^t. George—Inspecting Field Officer.

Lieu^t. Colonel Murray—Inspecting Field Officer.

N°. 2. Officers of Militia Rank as junior of their respective Ranks when doing duty with the Line.

N°. 3. Major Cotton with two Companies of the 8^th or King's Regiment to march tomorrow morning, and will receive further Orders from Major General De Rottenburg.

N°. 4. Lieu^t. Colonel Taschereau is directed to march with Five Companies of the 4^th Batt^n. of Militia by the South side of the River to William Henry—One Company is to be left at Pointe Levi.

Major General Glasgow will give instructions for receiving into Store the Supernumerary Camp Equipage of the Battalion and will direct Three Batteaux to be attached for the purpose of transporting the Baggage of the Regiment. Lieu^t. Colonel De Lery, Dep^y. Quarter Master General of Militia will accompany & regulate the march of the Battalion.

General Glasgow will order a Subaltern Officer & a Non-Commissioned Officer and Ten Gunners of the Royal Artillery, to embark by water and proceed without delay to Isle aux Noix by the Route of Chambly where they will leave the Batteaux.

By the same opportunity Ensign Chittle with a Serjeant, Corporal, and Six privates of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion —are to be sent to Chambly—to be employed as mounted Orderly Dragoons.

All deficiencies in the Flank Battalion Companies are to be compleated by a draft from their respective Corps, to be composed of Men in every respect the best fitted for that Service—Vacancies to be filled up immediately.

8th (or King's) Grenadrs.—1 Corporal, 3 Privates—Lt. Compy. 1 Private.

100th Regiment—2 Drummers.

103d. Regt.—1 Serjt—1 Drummer, 9 Privates—Grenadiers —1 Corpl—1 Bugle, 12 Privates—Lt. Infy.

Canadian Regt.—1 Serjt., 1 Corpl., 2 Drummrs., 6 Privates —Lt. Infy.

The Drummers to bring their Drums.

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adjt. Genl. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 251.

Adjutant General's Office

Head Quarters Montreal 8th Septr. 1812.

G: O/

At a General Court Martial held at the Blairfindié Camp on the 1st instant, at which Colonel Young was president, Private Edward Bowman of the Canadian Fencibles was tried for deserting from the said Camp towards the evening of the 19th July last, and being found Guilty, the following sentence was put on him, viz.—

The Court having heard and examined the information exhibited against the Prisoner, together with his Defence, is of opinion that Private Edward Bowman of the Regiment of Canadian Fencibles is guilty of the Desertion as laid to his charge, and doth therefore for the same adjudge the same Edward Bowman to suffer Death by being Shot.

At the said Court was also tried, Private John Jenkins of the 103rd Regiment for Desertion from the same Camp towards the Evening of the 11th August last, and being found Guilty the following sentence was passed on him, viz:

The Court having heard and examined the information exhibited against the Prisoner together with his defence is of opinion that John Jenkins Private Soldier in the 103rd Regiment is Guilty of the Desertion as laid to his Charge, and doth therefore for the same adjudge, him, John Jenkins to be transported as a Felon for Life.

At the same Court were also tried, Private William Tustin, Andrew Clarke, Patrick M°Guire, and Jacob Disney of the 103rd Regiment, and James Forster, William Lyons and Philip Shaver of the Canadian Fencibles for desertion from the Flank Battalion at the Camp at Blairfindié towards the Enemy, on or about the 21st August last, when the following sentence was passed on them viz:—

The Court having heard and examined the information exhibited against the Prisoners, together with their Defence, is of Opinion that William Tustin, Andrew Clarke, Patrick M°Guire and Jacob Disney Private Soldiers in the 103rd Regiment and James Forster, William Lyons and Philip Shaver of the Canadian Fencibles, are severally Guilty of the Desertion laid to their Charge, and does therefore for the same adjudge them, and each of them, the said William Tustin, Andrew Clarke, Patrick M°Guire, Jacob Disney, James Forster, William Lyons, and Philip Shaver to suffer Death by being shot.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has been pleased to approve of the foregoing Sentence, and to direct

that those upon Edward Bowman, William Tustin, Andrew Clarke, Patrick M^c^Guire, Jacob Disney, James Forster, William Lyons and Philip Shaver to be carried into execution at such time and place as Major Gen^l^. De Rottenburg Commanding in the District, shall think fit to appoint.—

The above General Court Martial is dissolved.—

(signed) Edward Baynes
Adjutant General N: A:

Archives, C. 1168, p. 253.

Head Quarters Montreal

11^th^ September 1812.

G. O./

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces is pleased in consideration of favorable circumstances represented to him, of the former good conduct of Privates Patrick M^c^Guire of the 103^rd^ Reg^t^. and Philip Shaver of the Canadian Fencibles sentenced to suffer Death by being Shot, to pardon them, and direct that they may be sent to their Regiments; And His Excellency is further induced to extend his clemency to the undernamed Prisoners, John Jenkins, William Tustin, Andrew Clark and Jacob Disney of the 103^rd^ Reg^t^. and James Forster and William Lyons of the Canadian Fencibles, with the hope that the severe but just punishment which they have witnessed in the Execution of Private Edward Bowman will be attended with salutary effects upon their future conduct. And His Excellency is pleased to remit the Sentence passed upon them by the General Court Martial on Condition of their serving for Life in such Corps and in such foreign Station as His Majesty may appoint.

2^nd^. His Excellency the Commander of the Forces is pleased to appoint William Lowe Gent: to be a Lieutenant in the Marine Department under the orders of the Quarter M^r^. General to bear date from the 25 August inclusive.

3rd. His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has been pleased to approve of the levy of a troop of Guides, and to appoint Joseph Hebert Gent: to be Captain, and Constantin Cartier Gent: to be Lieutenant, of a Troop to consist of the following Establishment, to maintain themselves, and their Horses without receiving any ration of Provision or forage, on the following rate of Pay Currency—

—viz.—

	s. d.	
1 Captain—per Diem	11/3	Currency.
1 Lieutenant— „	8/-	„
2 Serjeants each—„	5/-	„
30 Guides—d°. do.	3/9	„

The Horses and Appointments, except a Sword and Pistol, to be issued from the Indian Store, are to be furnished by the Individuals of the Troop.—

The Troop is to be paid Monthly by the Commissary General, on a Certified Pay list, to be Approved by Major General De Rottenburg, in as far as Certifying the effective Numbers of the Troop doing Duty during the Month.—

The Acting Deputy Barrack Master General is directed to Visit the Montreal Quarters, with all Convenient dispatch.

(Signed) Edward Baynes,
Adjt Genl—

Ensign Nowlan 100th Regt. is appointed to act as Adjutant with the temporary Rank of Lieutenant in the Canadian Fencibles until further order's.

Serjeant Major Pilkington is appointed to act as Quarter Master to the 100th Regiment, these Appointments to bear date from the 25th August.

(Signed) Edward Baynes,
Adjt. General N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 263.

Adjutant Generals Office

Head Quarters Montreal 21st September 1812.

G. O,/

To meet the expences of Corvées and other Contingencies incurred, under Authority, in the Montreal district by the Quarter Master Generals Department, the officer of that Department attached to the District, will prepare a two monthly estimate of the expences likely to be incurred under the above head, which, when approved, will be Lodged with the Assistant Commissary General, who will pay, agreeably to the regulated Tariff, for all services which shall be certified by the District Assistant of the Quarter Master Generals Department to have been performed by the Inhabitants,—An abstract of this Account regularly vouched, to be made up every two Months.—

G.O.

His Excellency the Governor General and Commander of the Forces has been pleased to approve of the Voluntary Services of a Detachment of the 1st Battalion of Montreal Militia, composed of the Artillery, Flank Companies and Captain Forsyths Company to be incorporated under the immediate Command of Major Caldwell and to aid in performing the duties of the Garrison of Montreal.—

T. B. Ahern Gent: late 100th Regt. is appointed to act as Adjutant to the Detachment, with the pay and allowances of that Rank.—

His Excellency has thought proper to embody the Fifth Battalion of Militia to be stationed in the Garrison of Montreal and to occupy the Recollet Barracks.—

Lieut. Colonel Murray is appointed to the Command of the Fifth Battalion.—

Ensign Ridge of the 8th (or Kings) Regt. is Appointed to Act as Staff Adjutant of Militia until further Orders, and to be stationed at Montreal.—

(Signed) Edward Baynes
Adjutant Genl. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 265.

Adjutant Generals Office

Head Quarters Montreal 22d Septemr 1812.

G.O./

The Commander of the Forces expects, at this Moment, from every department of the Army the most unwearied, prompt and zealous exertions in forwarding the important Services now carrying on, and He trusts he shall in no instance meet disappointment.—

Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost also calls upon the Officers entrusted with the command of Posts of communication for their personal superintendance and efforts to accelerate the Movement of either Troops, Stores or Provisions from their respective Commands to their ultimate destination.—

G.O.

His Excellency the Governor General and Commander of the Forces has been pleased to approve of the following Appointments of Officers to the several Division's of Indian Warriors, stationed at the Out Posts of the Camp of Blairfindy.—

Nations.	
Coghnawagas.	Chevalier De Lorimer Resident and Captain. —— De Lorimer Lieutenant and Interpreter.
St. Regis, or Oghquasagay . .	Louvigny De Montigny Resident and Captain. —— St. Germain, Lieutenant. —— Biron, Interpreter.
Lake of the Two Mountains . .	—— Du Charme Resident and Captain. Chevalier Lorimer Lieutenant and Interpreter. —— Chinic, Interpreter.
St. François	Simon Evans Lieutenant and Interpreter. Stanislas Vassal Lieut. & Interpreter.

(Signed) Edward Baynes
Adjutant General N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 280.

Head Quarters Montreal

22d September 1812.

G.O./

Captain Pentz Canadian Fencibles with a party of 1 subaltern, 2 Serjeants and 50 Rank and file to March to La Chine on Wednesday afternoon to form an Escort to a Brigade of Boats with Stores proceeding to Kingston ;—

Such Soldiers as are discharged from Hospital belonging to Regiments in the Upper Province are to proceed by this opportunity.—The Major of Brigade will furnish Captain Pentz with a Return of their Names ;—

The Escort to take with them 60 Rounds Ball Cartridge per Man, and are to be kept in seperate Divisions in light Boats, in readiness to use their Arms, at a Moments Notice and are not to be employed in rowing.—

Lieut. Smith of the Kingston Militia having Volunteered his Service, is to proceed with this Escort and to be obeyed according to his Rank.

(Signed) Edward Baynes,
Adjutant General N:A:

Archives, C. 1168, p. 277.

Adjutant General's Office

Head Quarters Montreal 24th Septemr. 1812.

G.O.

The 1st, 2nd and 3rd Battalions of Quebec Militia are to be on permanent Duty from the Receipt of this Order, and are to be so in rotation Weekly taking their share of the Garrison Duty, The Commander of the Forces expects the Regiments in Garrison at Quebec will furnish such assistance as may be requisite for their training and instruction.

G.O,

Mr. Robert Yarker the Assistant Deputy Pay Master General for the Montreal District, having arrived at Quebec, will immediately proceed to his destination and take upon himself the Duties of his office, under such orders and instructions as he may be furnished with by the Deputy Pay Master General of the Canadas.—

G.O,

The Commander of the Forces has been pleased to Appoint the following Gentlemen to the Indian Warriors, attached to the Out Posts of the Camp at Blairfindy.—

Abenaquis, Iroquois . . . { Chanier Gauchier Lieutenant and Interpreter. Pierre Hubert, Interpreter.

G.O,

The 4th Battalion of Embodied Militia to be held in readiness to march at the shortest Notice and to occupy the under named stations.—

At St. Charles . . . . . 3 Companies
At St. Louis or Pointe Olivier . . . 2 Companies

in conformity to a Route to be furnished by the Deputy Quarter Master General of Militia.—

Lieutenant Colonel Robertson will hold the Canadian Fencible Regiment at William Henry in readiness to march at the shortest Notice, and occupy such Quarters as will be hereafter pointed out.—

G.O,

The Commissaries of Ordnance and Provisions are directed to issue on the requisition of Colonel St. Ours 150 Stand of Arms and Accoutrements complete together with a proportion of Flints and Ball Cartridge to the Division of Militia of that District ordered to perform Garrison Duty at William Henry by rotation, of Two Companies—the Militia while

employed on actual Service to receive the Ration of Provisions, the same as Troops of the Line, with all Garrison allowances.—

G.O.

The Detachments of the 8th (or King's) 103d Regiment and the Canadian Fencibles arrived from Quebec will proceed to Morrow Morning at Six O'Clock under the command of a Subaltern Officer of the Royals to join their respective Companies in Camp at Blairfindy,—Batteaux to be provided for their conveyance to Longueil.—

(Signed) Edwd. Baynes
Adjutant General NA—

Archives, C. 1168, p. 307.

Montreal 15th October 1812—

G.O.

The Commander of the Forces is pleased to sanction an Issuer and a Labourer being employed in the Fuel Yard at La Prairie at 1s/- per diem each, until further Orders.

G.O.

Two Batteaux to be prepared at La Chine, to convey a Company of the Canadian Voyageurs to St Regis.—Fifteen days Rations of Provisions to be issued to the Party.—

G.O.

In order to avoid irregularities and confusion in the dispatch of Batteaux and Stores from the Post of Lower La Chine, the following Regulations are to be strictly adhered to.—

The King's Stores at La Chine is the Depôt for the Shipment of all Stores and Provisions the Officer in Command is

to receive charge of the Brigade of Batteaux complete in every respect, and sign the necessary Vouchers before the Boats proceed on their destination.—

In case it is expedient to send the Batteaux first loaded to rendezvous at Upper La Chine, a Subordinate Officer is to take charge of them at that Post, and the Officer in Command of the Escort will remain until the complete Shipment of the Stores is finally adjusted.—

Indian Presents alone are embarked at the Post of Upper La Chine.—

(signed) Edw^{d}. Baynes
Adj^{t}. Gen^{l}. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 310.

Montreal 17th October 1812.

G:O:

The Commander of the Forces is pleased to direct that in future the Issue of Fuel shall be in proportion of One Chaldron of Coals, to Three Cords of Wood.—

G.O.

The Commander of the Forces is pleased to grant Two Months Leave of Absence within the Province, to Captain Vyvyan of the 103^{d} Regiment for the recovery of his health.—

G.O.

The Detachment of the Canadian Fencibles at Montreal is directed to embark in Sixteen Batteaux on Monday next the 19th Ins^{t}. at 7 O'Clock, and to proceed to William Henry, and from thence to join their Regiment at Beloeil.—

Twenty five Batteaux are to be forwarded by the Militia from William Henry to Three Rivers and from thence to Quebec.—

G.O.

Lieutenant Jones of the Royal Artillery is directed to proceed in a Batteaux towards William Henry to take charge of Ordnance Stores on their way from Quebec, the Canadian Fencibles to furnish a Party of a Non Commissioned Officer and Eight Men.—Eight days Field Rations to be issued to the Party.—

G.O.

Major Cotton of the 8th (or King's) Regimt. being arrived, is directed to take upon himself the Command of the Garrison.—

(Signed) Edwd. Baynes
Adjt. Genl. N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 313.

Montreal 19th October 1812.

G.O.

Two Companies of the Canadian Voyageurs to proceed from La Chine to Chateau Guay—Fourteen days Rations to be issued to the Detachment, and Three Batteaux to be furnished to cross the River.—

G.O.

The Two Gun Boats arrived from Quebec are to be transported to Upper La Chine—Lieutenant Jones of the Royal Artillery will superintend the removal of the Gun Boats and Ordnance Stores.—

The Assistant Commissary General will Order the necessary Carriage for the Transport of the Boats and Stores.—

G.O.

The Commander of the Forces is pleased to approve of the Exchange proposed between Mr. Tannett Thomson Clerk in the Office of the Depy. Commissary General of Accounts,

and M^r^. T. Scott, Clerk in the Commissary General's Office, to take place from the 25^th^ Ins^t^. inclusive.—

G.O.

In Consideration of the encreased duties of the Post of Assistant Barrack Master at Chambly, The Commander of the Forces is pleased to augment the Pay of Assistant Barrack Master Robert Willas to 5^s^/- per day.

And to appoint John Willas an Issuer at that Post, at the Rate of 1^s^/- per day—both Appointments to bear date from the 25^th^ September last.—

Archives, C. 1168, p. 337.

Montreal 27^th^ October 1812.

General Orders.

At a General Court Martial held at Quebec on the 5^th^ day of October 1812, Privates John Camfield and Jonathan Harlington of the 103^rd^ Regim^t^. were arraigned on the following Charges—Viz^t^.—

First—"For Deserting from the said Regiment on or about the 20^th^ of July last."

Second—"For losing or making away with part of their Necessaries."

Upon which Charges the Court came to the following decision.—

"The Court having duly weighed and considered what hath appeared before them in Evidence during the course of the Prosecution as well as what the Prisoners John Camfield and Jonathan Harlington have urged in their defence; is of Opinion that they are both and severally Guilty of the Crimes laid to their charge, and doth therefore adjudge that the Prisoners John Camfield and Jonathan Harlington do each of them receive One thousand Lashes on the bare back at such time and place as His Excellency The Commander of

the Forces shall please to direct, and to be put under weekly Stoppages not exceeding the half of their Pay, until their necessaries be made Compleat."

The Commander of the Forces approves of the above Sentence, and directs that it may be carried into execution at such time and place as Major General Glasgow may please to direct.

(Signed) Edw[d] Baynes
Adj[t]. Gen[l]. N.A.

Archives C. 1168, p. 338.

Adjutant General's Office

H[d] Q[rs] Montreal, 29[th] October 1812.

General Orders.

The Officers appointed to Command Gun Boats, are to receive Pay at the rate of 7/6 per diem, to be paid by Returns and Estimates furnished by the Quarter Master General.—

Officers of the Line employed in the Marine Department, are to receive the difference of Pay in the same manner.

G:O:

The Fort Adjutant of Isle aux Noix is to receive the Pay of Regimental Adjutant and Allowances, with the exception of Forage for a Horse, which is unnecessary at that Post.—

G.O.

Captain Loring 104[th] Regiment is appointed Aid-de-Camp to Major General Sheaffe.

G.O.

Major De Salaberry to receive the Pay and Allowances of Major Commandant, from the date of the Letter of Service of the Canadian Voltigeurs.—

G.O.

In consideration of the extra duty of the Post Master of Montreal in forwarding Letters to the Troops in Camp and the Cordon of the Frontiers, Daniel Sutherland Esq^{r}. is appointed Military Post Master at Five Shillings Currency per Day, with Subaltern's Barrack Allowance of Fuel and Candles 'till further Orders—to commence on the 25th of August.

G.O.

Four Companies of the Royal Scots under marching Orders to proceed to Three Rivers.—

The Company of the Canadian Fencible Regiment at that Station to march to William Henry on the arrival of the Division of the Royal Scots.

(Signed) Edward Baynes
Adj^{t}. Gen^{l}. N.A.

Archives, C. 1169, p. 71.

[La Prairie 21st Novem^{r}. 1812]

G. O.

When the Service requires that Detachments should move at a short notice, when there is not time for them to draw Rations in advance, and when they may from other circumstances be placed in situations where it will not be in their power to receive their Supplies from the Commissariat or to obtain the necessary means of conveyance from the regular Department; the Officer Commanding such Detachment is, when the case admits of it, to make the regular Requisitions in Writing to the Chief Magistrate or Officers of Militia for such Supplies or means of conveyance as may be requisite, and he is to give in all cases a Receipt

for Supplies so furnished, and on a separate Paper a Certificate for means of conveyance so provided to the Persons furnishing such Supplies or means of conveyance, and stating on the Receipt or Certificate that the amount will be paid at Head Quarters at the Current prices of the Country, on their being produced at the Commissary Generals Office ; Officers will be particularly careful to give separate Receipts for Regular Rations, but, neither Receipts nor Certificates are to be given in Duplicate in order to prevent double Payments.

The mode of obtaining Supplies and means of conveyance is never to be resorted to, however, except in Cases of absolute necessity, and for the Regularity of which Officers Commanding Detachments are held responsible.—

This Regulation applies also to Forage for Horses belonging to the Cavalry and Artillery.

In all Cases where small Detachments or Working Parties are composed of Men of different Regiments and cannot receive their Rations with their respective Regiments or Battalions, the Return for their Rations is to express the number of Individuals belonging to each Corps and to be signed by the Officer in Command of each Detachment or Working Party.

(Signed) E. Baynes A.G.

Archives, C. 1169, p. 109.

Quebec 24th. Decr. 1812.

G. O.

At a General Court Martial held at Chambly on the 5th December 1812. Private Etienne Desautills of the Canadian Regt was arraigned upon the following Charge Vizt "For Deserting towards the Enemy on or about the 13th day of November 1812."

Upon which Charge the Court came to the following decision.—

"The Court having heard and maturely examined the information exhibited against the Prisoner Etienne Deshautells, Private Soldier in the Canadian Regiment, together with his defence, is of opinion that he is Guilty of the Crime with which he is charged, which being in breach of the Articles of War, doth therefore for the same adjudge Etienne Deshautells should suffer Death by being Shot, at such time and place as His Excellency the Commander of the Forces may be pleased to direct."

The Commander of the Forces Approves of the Sentence passed upon Private Etienne Deshautells of the Canadian Regiment, and directs that it be carried into execution at such time and place as Major General De Rottenburg may appoint.

(Signed) E. Baynes A.G.

Archives, C. 1170, p. 3.

Quebec 4th. January 1813

G. O.

The Non Commissioned Officers and Men of the 49th, 100th and Royal Newfoundland Regiments, are to be held in readiness to March and join their respective Corps at the shortest notice—Colonel Scott having offered to furnish the Men of the 100th Regiment with such Winter Necessaries as are indispensable for a March, the Commanding Officer of that Corps will direct the Amount to be repaid to the Quarter Master of the 103rd Regiment.—Such Non Commissioned Officers and Men only as may obtain the sanction of the Commander of the Forces are to be permitted to remain in Quebec.

PROVINCIAL STATUTES OF LOWER CANADA

Quebec 1813

Cap. II.

An Act to apply certain sums of Money therein mentioned, towards the defence of the Province during the present War with the United States of America.

(15th. February, 1813.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

Preamble.

WHEREAS your faithful subjects, the Commons of Lower-Canada have taken into their serious consideration the justice of the war in which your Majesty is engaged against the United States of America, and whereas they desire as far as their means and the resources of the Province will permit, to contribute to the support of that war, and that for this purpose they have voluntarily imposed certain duties to enable them to aid your Majesty in the important contest in which the Province is at present engaged and to supply its future wants ; may it therefore please your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Lower-Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an act of the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled, " An Act to repeal certain parts of an act " passed in the fourteenth year of His Majesty's Reign, in- " tituled, " *An Act for making more effectual provision for the* " *Government of the Province of Quebec in North America ;* " " And to make further provision for the Government of the " said Province ; " And it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or person administering the Government of the Province for the time being, by a warrant

£15,000 granted to the Governor out of unappropriated monies in the hands of the Receiver General towards the equipment of the embodied Militia.

or warrants under his hand and seal directed to the Receiver General of this Province, to take out of the unappropriated monies which now remain or hereafter may remain and be reserved in the hands of the said Receiver General for the future disposition of the Provincial Parliament of this Province—Firstly, the sum of fifteen thousand pounds, currency, and to apply the same towards the equipment of the Militia-men who are or shall be embodied, with such articles of clothing or other necessaries as Government is not accustomed to furnish to soldiers serving in the regular Army; Secondly, the sum of one thousand pounds, currency, for the establishment of Hospitals necessary for the sick of the embodied Militia; And Thirdly, that of twenty-five thousand pounds, currency, to aid in the defence of the Province in the present war with the United States of America.

£1000 for the establishment of an Hospital, and the further sum of £25,000 for the Province.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the due application of the said monies conformably with the directions of this act, shall be accounted for to His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors through the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury in such manner and form as His Majesty shall direct.

Money to be accounted for to His Majesty.

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP II

BROCK, 1812

1. UPPER CANADA, July, 1812.
2. *The West:* MICHILLIMACKINAC, July 17, 1812.
3. *Detroit Frontier:* BROWNSTOWN, August 5, 1812; MAGUAGA, August 9, 1812; DETROIT, August 16, 1812.
4. *Niagara Frontier:* QUEENSTON, October 13, 1812.
5. *Niagara Frontier:* FRENCHMAN'S CREEK, November 28, 1812.
6. *Montreal Frontier:* ST. REGIS, October 23 and November 23, 1812; LA COLLE, November 20, 1812.
7. MISCELLANEOUS, 1812.

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP II

BROCK, 1812

1. Upper Canada: July 1812.

Archives, C. 676, p. 115.

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George
July 3d 1812.

Sir,

I have been anxiously expecting for some days to receive the honor of Your Excellency's Commands in regard to the measures the most proper to be pursued on the present emergency. The accounts received first through a mercantile channel, and soon after repeated from various quarters, of war having been declared by the United States against Great Britain, would have justified in my opinion offensive operations—But the reflection that at Detroit and St. Josephs the weak state of the garrisons would prevent the Commanders from attempting any essential service connected in any degree with their future security, and that my only means of annoyance on this communication, was limited to the reduction of Fort Niagara, which could be battered at any future period, I relinquished my original intention, and attended only to defensive measures My first object has been the calling out of the Flank Companies of Militia which has produced a force on this line of about 800 Men—They turned out very cheerfully, but already shew a spirit of impatience—The Kings' Stores are now at such a low ebb that they

scarcely furnish any article of use or comfort — Blankets, Haversacks and Kettles are all to be purchased—and the troops in watching the banks of the river stand in the utmost need of tents—M^{r}. Couche has adopted the most efficacious means to pay the Militia in paper currency—I cannot positively say the number of Militia that will be embodied, but they cannot exceed throughout the Province 4000.

The Americans are very active on the opposite side in the erection of redoubts, we are not idle on our part, but unfortunately having supplied Amherstburg with the guns that post required from Fort George, depending upon getting others from Kingston to supply their place, we find ourselves at this moment rather short of that essential Arm—I have however every reason to think they are embarked on board the Earl Moira, which, according to Major M^{c}Pherson's report, was to have sailed on the 28th Ult^{o}.

The Americans have, I believe, about 1200 regulars and Militia, between Fort Niagara and Black Rock—and I consider myself at this moment perfectly safe against any attempts they can make About 100 Indians from the Grand River have attended to my summons, the remainder promise to come also, but I have too much reason to conclude that the Americans have been too successful in their endeavours to sow dissension and disaffection among them—It is a great object to get this fickle race interspersed among the troops—I should be unwilling, in the event of a retreat, to have three or four hundred of them hanging on my flank—I shall probably have to sacrifice some money to gain them over—The appoint-
[1] ment of some officers with salaries will be absolutely necessary.

The Americans make a daily parade of their force, and easily impose on the people on this side in regard to their numbers—I do not think they exceed 1200, but they are represented infinitely more numerous—For the last fortnight every precaution has been taken to guard against the least communication, and to this day I am ignorant whether the President sanctioned the war resolutions of the two houses

of Congress—that is whether war be actually declared.— [2]
The Car Brigade has been completed for Service with Horses belonging to gentlemen who spared them free of expense.

I have not been honored with a line from M^r. Foster, nor with all my endeavours have I been able to obtain information of any consequence

The Prince Regent made her first voyage this morning, and I propose sending her to Kingston, to bring such articles as are absolutely necessary which we know have arrived from Quebec—I trust she will outsail the Oneida.

I have the honor to be
Sir, Your Excellency's
Most Obed^t Humble Servant
Isaac Brock M.Gen^l.

[*Marginal notes in pencil.*]

[1] Discretionary with the Gov^r as a temporary measure.

[2] We still continue to possess a superiority in Vessels of War upon Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

Archives, Upper Canada State Book F, p. 73.

Proclamation, dated 6th July 1812, announcing the Declaration of War against Great Britain by the United States of America on the 17th June 1812.

Upper Canada

(Signed) Isaac Brock,
President

By Isaac Brock, Esquire, Major Gen^l Command^g His Majesty's Forces in y^e Province of U. C. President &c.

Whereas on the seventeenth day of June last the Congress of the United States of America Declared that War existed between those States and their Territories, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dependancies thereof—And Whereas in pursuance of such Declaration the Subjects of the United States have actually Committed Hostilities against the Possessions of His Majesty and the Persons

and Property of His Subjects in this Province, Now therefore by and with the Advice of His Majesty's Executive Council for the Affairs of the Province—I do hereby strictly enjoin and require all His Majesty's Liege Subjects to be obedient to the Lawful Authorities, to forbear all Communication with the Enemy or Persons residing within the Territory of the United States and to manifest their Loyalty by zealous Cooperation with His Majesty's Armed Force in Defence of the Province and Repulse of the Enemy. And I do further require and Command all Officers Civil and Military to be Vigilant in the discharge of their Duty, especially to prevent all Communication with the Enemy, and to cause all Persons suspected of traiterous intercourse to be apprehended and treated according to Law.

(Signed) I. B.

Archives, C. 386, p. 62.

From Captain M. C. Dixon, R.E., to Lieutenant Colonel R. H. Bruyeres, R.E.

Fort Amherstburgh. July 8th 1812.

Dear Sir./

Since the 17th June, the Date of my last Letter to you, no opportunity whatever has offered of writing till the present moment; I have only received as yet one Letter from you, stating the necessity of some repairs &c. to the Barracks here: Since we have received here the news of War with the U.S. my attention has been wholly directed to the object of putting the Fort in a decent state: The S. and E. curtains have been formed and finished with the exception of the Timber Facing: Twenty Pieces of Cannon are mounted: The Platforms all repaired; Four 12pr. Gun Carriages made; The Four Bastions Fraized and the escarp all round as much as possible deepened; with the very considerable quantity of Timber in the Fort, a splinter proof Log Building has been thrown up and a small expense magazine in the centre of the S. Front is in a state of Forwardness. This Latter Service Genl. Brock

ordered : The side walls I have made 5 f^{t}. thick & I propose a Flat log ceiling, loaded with Dry masonry to form a Bomb-proof ; I trust, Sir, you will do me the credit of believing that no exertion or activity has been spared by me in carrying on the Service here and that my best endeavours shall be exerted for the security of this Important Post ; a Few days since, B^{r}. Gen^{l}. Hull with an Army of 2000 Men arrived at Detroit : Their Main Body is encamped at Sandwich ; of this Total, 475 are regulars being the 4th U.S. Reg^{t}: who were at the Wabash ; the rest are Ohio Militia & Volunteers : The whole army has had a severe march from Cincinnati (Ohio) and their principal point has been in advancing to secure a safe communication all the Way by establishing Block Houses at the Distance of 20 miles from each other, garrisoned by the Invalids &c. of the Army : The day after we received News of War, our Boats captured an American Schooner, with 40 Men and officers of their Army ; The whole of the officers Baggage, Medical Stores of the Army, Clothing, 40 stand of Arms &^{c}. with all Governor Hull's papers of the first consequence have fallen into our hands ; on examining them we got a complete insight into all his views : his official correspondence with the Secretary of State was also very interesting : Co^{l} S^{t}. George has thought them of such consequence as to send them to Gen^{l}. Brock : our Force here consists of 300 Regulars, 850 Militia and about 400 Indians, so that I think we have no reason to be afraid of our Yankey Friends ; I forgot to mention that the A. Army cut the road the whole of the way, which in fact they were obliged to do as the whole march was through a wilderness : The ship is now waiting for this, so I have only to apologise for the hurry I write in,

and have the honor of remaining

Sir,/

Your most Obd^{t}

Hum^{ble} Serv^{t}

M. C. Dixon

Cap^{t} R^{l} Eng^{r}

Archives, C. 676, p. 150.

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George, U.C.
July 12th 1812

Sir,

[1] With the exception of occasional firing from the opposite shore (the unauthorized act of an undisciplined Militia) nothing of a hostile nature has occurred on this communication—since I last had the honor of addressing Your Excellency —The enemy is busy constructing batteries at different points of the River, but he does not appear to have yet received cannon to place in them. We are doing all we can on this side to counteract his views, and the arrival this morning of the Royal George, and the Vessels under her convoy, bringing various pieces of ordnance, will give us in this respect, a decided superiority.

The Militia which assembled here immediately on the account being received of war being declared by the United States have been improving daily in discipline, but the men evince a degree of impatience under their present restraint that is far from inspiring confidence—So great was the clamour to return and attend to their farms, that I found myself, in some measure, compelled to sanction the departure of a large proportion, and I am not without my apprehensions that the remainder will, in defiance of the law, which can only impose a fine of twenty pounds, leave the service the moment the
[2] harvest commences—There can be no doubt that a large portion of the population in this neighbourhood are sincere in their professions to defend the country, but it appears likewise evident to me that the greater part are either indifferent to what is passing, or so completely American as to rejoice in the prospects of a change of Governments—Many who now consider our means inadequate would readily take an active

part were the regular troops encreased—these cool calculators are numerous in all societies.

The alacrity and good temper with which the Militia marched to the frontier have tended to infuse in the mind of the enemy a very different sentiment of the disposition of the inhabitants—He was led to believe that on the first summons they would declare themselves an American State—The display for several days of a large force was made, I have every reason to believe, in that expectation—Nearly the [3] whole of the Arms at my disposal have been issued—They are barely sufficient to Arm the Militia immediately required to guard the frontier—Were I furnished with the means of distributing Arms among the people in whom confidence can be placed they would not only overawe the disaffected but prove of essential use in the event of invasion. The Militia assembled in a wretched state in regard to Clothing—many [4] were without shoes, an article which can scarcely be provided in the Country.

After the cannon which have arrived this morning, are mounted, I shall consider my front perfectly secure I do not imagine the enemy will hazard a water excursion with a view of turning my flanks—He probably will wait until winter when the ice will enable him to cross with the utmost facility to any port between Fort Erie and Long Point—My situa- [5] tion will then depend upon the force the enemy may bring to invade the Province—Should the troops have to move the want of tents will be severely felt—

A person who left Sandwich yesterday week pretends that the enemy was then in the act of cannonading the place—I have not heard from L^{t}. Colonel S^{t}. George since my last to Your Excellency.

An officer is so absolutely necessary to command in the Eastern District that I have consented to M. General Shaw's [6] proceeding thither in that capacity—I have full confidence in his judgment, and his conduct in the field is undoubted.

He of course can only assume the command in virtue of his Militia rank, and will be liable to be superseded by any Lieutenant Colonel Your Excellency may be pleased to appoint.

The expense of defending this Province will unquestionably be great. Upon a rough calculation, and supposing that 4000 Militia be constantly embodied it cannot be esti-
[7] mated at less than 140,000 p. annum—However great the sum it will be applied to very considerable advantage provided
[8] Your Excellency be enabled to send re-inforcements, for without them it is scarcely possible to expect the United States' Government will be so inactive and supine as to permit the present limited force to remain in possession of the Country—Whatever can be done to preserve it, or delay its fall Your Excellency may rest assured will be exerted.

Having been suddenly called away from York I had not time to close my dispatch giving Your Excellency an account of my proceedings during my stay at Amherstburg—I now have the honor to forward two documents stating the steps taken by the Indian department to prevail on that unfortunate people to accommodate their differences with the American Government.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and
Humble servant
Isaac Brock
M. G—

[*Marginal notes in pencil.*]

[1] Similar report from Col. Lethbridge [. . .] Kingston.

[2] I have had great difficulty in bringing the Militia embodied in Lower Canada to a proper state of subordination.

[3] The disappointment in consequence of the loss of the Cambo. That a full proportion of what I possess has been sent to U.C.

[4] Shoes not to be had.

[5] 4–6 Pounders short—have been sent to Kingston from Montreal.

[6] Lt. Col. Myers & Col. Lethbridge have been sent to U.C.

The Gen[l]. to select if necessary a F.O. for this command, whenever he has one disposable.

[7] The history of paper money.

[8] The scanty reinforcement sent from England does not enable me to hold out an expectation of reinforcing Gen[l]. B. at present—but I will to the utmost support his exertions for the preservation of the Province entrusted to his charge in the event of an overwhelming force appearing against any particular point . . . [illegible].

Archives, C. 676, p. 168.

Proclamation of Brig. General Hull.

By William Hull, Brigadier General and Commander of the North Western Army of the United States

A PROCLAMATION

Inhabitants of Canada! After thirty years of Peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to Arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have *once more* left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my Command has invaded your Country and the standard of the United States waves on the territory of Canada. To the peaceable unoffending inhabitant, It brings neither danger nor difficulty I come to *find* enemies not to *make* them, I come to *protect* not to *injure* you

Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive Wilderness from Great Britain you have no participation in her counsels, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her

Tyranny, you have seen her injustice, but I do not ask *you* to avenge the one or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security consistent with their rights & your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of Civil, Political, & Religious Liberty, and their necessary result, individual, and general, prosperity : That liberty which gave decision to our counsels and energy to our conduct in our struggle for INDEPENDENCE, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly thro' the stormy period of the Revolution. That Liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the Nations of the world and which has afforded us a greater measure of Peace & Security wealth and prosperity than ever fell to the Lot of any people.

In the name of my *Country* and by the authority of my Government I promise you protection to your *persons, property, and rights.* Remain at your homes, Pursue your customary and peaceful avocations. Raise not your hands against your bretheren, many of your fathers fought for the freedom & *Indepence* we now enjoy Being children therefore of the same family with us, and heirs to the same Heritage, the arrival of an army of Friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from Tyranny and oppression and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success I might ask your assistance but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If contrary to your own interest & the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies and the horrors, and calamities of war will stalk before you.

If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our citizens and butcher our women and children, this war, will be a war of extermination.

The first stroke with the Tomahawk the first attempt with the scalping knife will be the signal for one indiscriminate scene of desolation. *No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner.* Instant destruction will be his Lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity, cannot prevent the employment of a force, which respects no rights & knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation.

I doubt not your courage and firmness ; I will not doubt your attachment to Liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily they will be accepted readily.

The United States offer you *Peace*, *Liberty*, and *Security* your choice lies between these, & *War*, *slavery*, *and destruction.* Choose then, but choose wisely ; and may he who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of Nations, guide you to a result the most compatible, with your rights and interests, your peace and prosperity.

(signed) W^m^ Hull

By the General
A. F. Hull
Capt^n^. 13 U.S. Reg^t^. of Infant^y^. & A.D.C
Head Quarters at Sandwich
13^th^ July 1812

Archives, C. 676, p. 180.

From Elliott to Claus.

Amherstburgh 15^th^ July 1812—

Sir,

On Saturday 11^th^ ins^t^. the enemy appeared in motion from Detroit upwards towards Hog Island on their own side of the River, where they had collected a number of boats. Our Militia stationed at Sandwich to watch their motions, and to prevent if possible their crossing, placing little

reliance on their own strength, and fearing they might be cut off, immediately determined on a retreat, and accordingly did so on the same night to this post, with two pieces of cannon which had been given them for their defence—And early in the morning of the 12th the enemy crossed in a line from Hog Island to Detroit, and landed at several places at the same time from Mackintoshes to Sandwich without a Shot being fired to the number of about 6 or 800. General Hull immediately [occupied] Mr. B Babys brick house opposite to Detroit and placed his largest force at Sandwich where they began to entrench themselves, and they have since crossed over their cavalry and artillery with more troops and now are entrenching themselves down the settlement towards this post, erecting batteries at distances, and have also sent a detachment towards the River Thames—The Gen[l]. on landing issued proclamations to the Inhabitants, promising all those who should remain at their homes protection for their persons & property—Their Proclamations have operated very powerfully on our Militia (who had come forward with as much promptitude as could have been expected). Since their issuing our Militia have left their Posts and returned to their homes, so that since Sunday the number is reduced to about one half, and I expect that in two or three days more we shall have very few of them at the post.

We expect to be attacked today or tomorrow. The Indians with us are between 3 & 400 who have resisted every allurement which Gen[l]. Hull laid before them. Tech-kum-thai has kept them faithful—he has shewn himself to be a determined character and a great friend to our Government.

Delay in attacking the enemy has been very detrimental to our interests and greatly cooled the former spirit of our Militia—

We have no ball remaining in the Indian store, and if more Indians come, I really do not know how to act—We have taken all (and that was very little) in possession of the Merchants here.

The bearer of this is Guendik a faithful little man, and who will proceed with despatch with this by the way of point Pele.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedient humble
servant
Signed/ M. Elliott.

P.S. The people here are much dejected & have removed all their effects out of the place.

New York Gazette, August 20th, 1812.

From Hull to the Six Nations.

Sandwich, July 18, 1812.

The powerful army under my command is now in possession of Canada. To you who are friendly it will afford safety and protection. All your lands and all your rights of every kind will be guaranteed to you if you will take no part against us. I salute you in friendship and hope you will now act such a part as will promote your interest, your safety and happiness. May the Great Spirit guide you in person.

Wm. Hull,
Governor of the Territory of Michigan and Commander of the Northwestern Army of the United States.

Archives, C. 676, p. 203.

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at —

Fort George
July 20th 1812

Sir,

My last to Your Excellency was dated the 12th Instant, since which nothing extraordinary has occurred on this

communication—The enemy has evidently diminished his force, and appears to have no intention of making an immediate attack—

I have herewith the honor of enclosing the Copy of two letters which I have received from L. Colonel S^{t}. George, together with some interesting documents found on board a schooner which the boats of the Hunter captured on her voyage from the Miamie to Detroit.

From the accompanying official correspondence between General Hull and The Secretary at War it appears that the collected force which has arrived at Detroit amounts to about two thousand.

I have requested Colonel Procter to proceed to Amherstburg, and ascertain accurately the state of things in that quarter—I had every inclination to go there myself, but the meeting of the Legislature on the 27th renders it impossible.

I receive this moment a dispatch dated the 15th Ins^{t}. from L^{t}. Colonel S^{t}. George giving an account of the enemy having landed on the 12th and immediately after occupying the village of Sandwich—It is strange that three days should be allowed to elapse before sending to acquaint me of this important fact. I had no idea until I received L^{t}. Colonel S^{t}. George's letter a few days ago that General Hull was advancing with such a large force.

The Militia from every account behaved very ill—The Officers appear the most in fault. Colonel Procter will probably reach Amherstburg in the course of tomorrow. I have great dependance in that officers decision but fear he will arrive too late to be of much service—The enemy was not likely to delay attacking a force that had allowed him to cross the river in open day without firing a shot.

The position which L. Colonel S^{t}. George occupied is very good, and infinitely more formidable than the Fort itself—Should he therefore be compelled to retire I know of

no other alternative than embarking in the King's vessels—and proceeding to Fort Erie—Were it possible to animate the Militia to a proper sense of their duty something might yet be done, but I almost despair—

Your Excellency will readily perceive the critical situation in which the reduction of Amherstburg is sure to place me—I do not imagine General Hull will be able to detach more than one thousand Men, but even with that trifling force I much fear he will succeed in getting to my rear. The Militia will not act without a strong Regular force to set them the example, and as I must now expect to be seriously threatened from the opposite shore, I cannot, in prudence, make strong detachments ; which would not only weaken my line of defence, but in the event of a retreat endanger their safety—

I have never, as Your Excellency has doubtless noticed, been very sanguine in my hopes of assistance from the Militia, and I am now given to understand that General Hull's insidious proclamation, herewith enclosed, has already been productive of considerable effect on the minds of the people—In fact a general sentiment prevails that with the present force resistance is unavailing I shall continue to exert myself to the utmost to overcome every difficulty—Should however the communication between Kingston and Montreal be cut off the fate of the troops in this part of the Province will be decided—I now express my apprehensions on a supposition that the slender means Your Excellency possesses will not admit of diminution, consequently that I cannot look for reinforcements.

The enemy evidently has no intention at present of penetrating into the Province by this Strait—He seems much more inclined to work on the flanks—After they are secured little will remain for him to do—

The last official communication from the Lower Province is dated the 25 Ult°. The Adjutant General then announced the receipt of intelligence by a Mercantile house of war being

declared by the United States against Great Britain. I need not entreat Your Excellency to honor me with your commands with as little delay as possible—I consider every moment exceedingly precious—

I have the honor to be,
With the highest respect
Your Excellency
Faithful and Obedient Servant
Isaac Brock,
M. G—

Archives, C. 676, p. 134.

Enclosure. From St. George to Brock.

Copy, Amherstburg 8th July 1812

Dear General,

I was favored with your letter of the 4th this morning, and I send down the Hunter immediately to Fort Erie.

The Lady Prevost will not I fear (with all our exertion) be in the water sooner than a week—In consequence of your letter of the 28th June which I received late in the evening of the 1st I made every arrangement in my power to carry into effect your orders, and between that time and about noon next day (2d) when I received your letter of the 29th June, the Schooner I mentioned to you in my last letter of that date, was captured—She will I am informed be a valuable prize, having on board the correspondence between the Commander of the Army and the American Government——Being constantly on the road between this place and Sandwich, since the papers were found, I have not been able to peruse them, but have commissioned Captain Dixon and Lieut. Dewar to open and retain what is absolutely necessary for us to have here, respecting Indians, or to take notes of them—And the rest I have ordered to be made up and sent to you—You will find by them what is opposed to us—No time was lost in

getting the Militia of Kent to Sandwich (which was found absolutely necessary) and I thought that with them and the 2^{d} Essex (about 200 each) Sandwich would be safe—I went up the 4th with Lieu^{t}. Dewar and made every arrangement possible for that purpose—On the 5th having heard that they were much alarmed and expected an immediate attack I went up again, and ordered the two six pounders to follow with a detach^{t}. of 41st Reg^{t}. to act as I saw occasion—on my arrival about 5 P.M. I found the place in great alarm from the Enemy having fired several shots from a 4 pnd^{r}. opposite to Sandwich—and one or two shots from a 24 pnd^{r}. at Detroit which went into a house opposite—I thought I had quieted the alarm and convinced them that there was nothing to apprehend from the forces opposed to them (no reinforcements of any consequence having then arrived) and that I would immediately support them in case of an attack—The next morning as I was sending up a party of the 41st and an Officer to put them in some order, I was informed by Colonel Baby, that he was on his march to Amherstburg—I immediately sent off Captain Muir and 50 of the 41st in carts with two 3 pounders to stop them, which he did, near the Canard bridge and returned with them to their former position—Whilst the Militia was absent a flag of Truce arrived at Sandwich and was forwarded to me, the nature of which the enclosed copies of letters which passed on that occasion will explain.

Vide Nos. 1 & 2.

I have found it necessary at present to leave the Detachment of the 41st with a Captain, two Sub^{s}. and the two three pounders at Sandwich, and also two heavy Guns I ordered to follow the Detach^{t}. to encourage the Militia, and at present, as the Enemy has not the means of passing in force, I think them secure from Surprize—I shall keep Sandwich as long as I can, as also keep open the communication, and prevent my Detach^{t}. from being cut off—From the want of officers and other assistance I have not been able to get a state of the

people I have collected—I have been obliged to issue Indian Arms to the Militia and shall arm every man I find disposed to make use of one for us—I have embodied the Canadians I detained in the eleven boats from Montreal (70 men) belonging to the North West Company—Their cargoes I am obliged to make free with, consisting of Arms, Ammunition and Blankets—Had I not detained them they would have fallen into the hands of the Enemy—on receiving your letter of the 28th I ordered the Nancy belonging to the North West Compy. of about 70 tons waiting for a wind to take her up from "Moy" to the upper lake, down here, where she remains—I have taken some brass three pounders from her to mount in the Boats before mentioned. In short I find myself so situated, that I am obliged to make use of everything I want, that falls in my way—I am much distressed at not being able to get returns of what men I have, and I fear there will be great confusion in the accompts, but I cannot help it—I must issue provisions to men who come forward, and am endeavouring to get all the Cattle I can, to this place—I am obliged to appoint Assistants in the different departments to act in this confusion—I counted yesterday 460 Militia at Sandwich including two Companies of Colonel Elliots militia—Many without arms, but which I have supplied from the Indian, and private Stores—Captain Muir from whom I receive great assistance is laboring hard at Sandwich to get them in some order—When obliged to it, I hope they may make a regular retreat on this place—We have in the Fort the two Flank Compys. of Colonel Elliott's Regt. in all about 140—The rest of that Battalion down the Lake I am endeavouring to collect—And when I am able to get a regular return I shall send it—Men we shall certainly have and several seem willing to act if they knew how and were well supported, and had officers to shew them the way—I now think it fortunate that your letter of the 29th came too late to stop the Messengers sent out to the distant Indians—On my return

from Sandwich yesterday we had a Grand Council of Chiefs &c &c from the neighbourhood, and the usual ceremonies of the Wampum &c &c were gone through—There were present about 200 and besides those present I am informed 100 had gone to their Camp—Tecumthā (the Prophet's brother) acted a conspicuous part on the occasion. We are hard at work at the Fort, and have done a great deal since you left us—The Curtains begun on, are nearly finished: Two of the Bastions well fraised, the other two will be fraised in two days from this date—The Scarpe all the way round is deepened—Twenty pieces of Cannon well mounted: The Platforms all perfectly good—The North Curtain remains as it was, and with Timber we are giving it a thickness of 14 feet to that side—A log building is thrown up in the Fort about 60 men—Another will be thrown up in half a day when we have done with more material work—The small magazine is in a state of forwardness—In short every exertion possible is made by us all—

I have appointed Captain Mockler of the Newfoundland Reg^{t}. my aid de camp—Besides from what I have heard of his character as an officer and a Gentleman (for he is quite a stranger to me) he is the only officer who could be spared—I am much mortified at the confused state in which I find myself with the men of the militia, now we have collected them together—their wants are many—I wish much for instruction respecting the pay &c &c of the Militia, and of those who have offered to serve and have been accepted by me—From what I have seen of their Country, a Regular force here of even two Battalions would be quite sufficient for its security—But if it is found that we cannot support those who take up arms, I dread the consequences. Those we get into the Fort we can control, but not others—I shall be careful of my Detachment at Sandwich at all events—You may well suppose it requires vigilance at that distance—I should be under no uneasiness, if I had the Militia in any

state of order—Officers we want for them—I hope dear Gen[l]. you will excuse this irregular scroll, but I have been so harassed for these five days and nights, I can scarcely write—I am endeavouring to raise a Corps of Cavalry, and attach them to the Quarter Master General's Department and I must employ some of the Gentlemen in the Country capable of assisting, in getting in horses cattle &c. I have taken a great deal on myself, but found I could not get anything done if I did not—The Boats, cargoes and vessel of the North West Company are a serious concern—I can detain the Hunter no longer.

Believe me
D[r] General—
&c &c &c (Signed) T. B. S[t]. George
L[t] Co[l].
Commanding at Amherstburg.

P.S. Co[l]. Baby's reason for leaving Sandwich, was that the men seemed inclined to return home.

Archives, C. 676, p. 132.

Enclosure. From Hull to St. George.

Copy. Camp, Spring Hill 3 Miles below Detroit
N° 1. July 6, 1812.

Sir/

Since the arrival of my army at this Encampment (five oClock PM yesterday) I have been informed that a number of discharges of Artillery and of small Arms have been made by some of the Militia of the Territory, from this Shore into Sandwich.

I regret to have received such information, the proceeding was unauthorised by me, I am not disposed to make War upon Private Property, or to authorise a wanton attack upon unoffending individuals. I would be happy to learn whether

you consider private Property a proper object of seizure & detention, I allude to the Baggage of Officers particularly

The Bearer of this Col: Cass, an Officer Commanding one of my Regiments, (he is accompanied by Captain Hickman) he is in possession of my ideas upon the subject of an Exchange of Prisoners, and is authorised to enter into stipulations for that purpose

I am &c., &c.,
(Signed)—W^m^ Hull, B: Gen^l^
Commanding the North Western
Army of the United States

Archives, C. 676, p. 133.

Enclosure. From St. George to Hull.

Copy.
N° 2. Amherstburg the 6 July 1812.

Sir,

I am honoured with your letter of this Days date; I perfectly coincide with you in opinion respecting Private Property, and any Wanton attack upon unoffending individuals, and am happy to find, what I was certain would be the case, that the aggression in question was unauthorized by you, in respect to the Property of officers not on board a vessel at the time of capture, I must be guided by the Custom of War in like cases, in justice to the Captors, and shall always be happy to meet your Wishes, respecting an Exchange of Prisoners when I receive orders from my Government for that purpose.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) T. B. S^t^. George
L^t^. Col.
Commanding Fort Amherstburg.

Archives, C. 676, p. 141.

Enclosure. From St. George to Brock.

Copy Amherstburgh 10th July 12.

Dear General

Colonel Elliot having received information relative to the Indians I send it off by Express—Since writing by the Hunter (which was not able to leave the Bar till yesterday Evening) I have been at Sandwich, I found the Kent and Essex not then in a better condition than when I left them two days before—they are all Armed—but I am not able to withdraw my Detachment—Their Colonels think if I do so they will not remain—even Two Companies of the Militia of this place who were ordered up on the Two Regiments retreating and who I have particular occasion for at the Petit Coté to keep up the communication, I am not able to withdraw—nor the Two heavy Guns (9 Prs.) I sent up on that occasion—in short I believe I must move the Two Regiments and Detachments down here, but that I shall not do until I get all the Cattle possible from the Thames and Sandwich and drive them below Amherstburgh—I have now sent off Lieut. Dewar to make arrangements, and have found it necessary to employ Mr. Francis Baby to assist in the Qr. Mr. Generals Department at Sandwich, and also Mr. Caldwell here—

I have got some mounted Men at Sandwich for Patrole, about 30, I hope we shall be able to get more here when the Militia of Colonel Elliots come from the Lake, of that part of his Regiment not more than 20 have yet joined—I have the greatest difficulty respecting the Officers of *all* the Regimts as Col1. Elliott thinks his papers cannot admit of delay—

I am obliged to conclude—
And am Dr General
Your faithful
T B. St George

[P.S.] On my arrival at Sandwich early yesterday morning I found Gen[l]. Hull had struck his Camp at Spring Hill and marched into Detroit—should the Kent and Essex continue so much alarmed at their situation I must withdraw them from Sandwich; and as I have nothing to replace them must also withdraw the Detachment. I am at present so disagreeably situated from the prevailing disposition of both Officers, and Men, that I have no doubt in case of an attack on Sandwich which the Enemy appear to be preparing for, the Force there will be obliged to retreat on this place, and before that happens, which would throw the Militia into a state of confusion liable to disorganize the whole body, before it is too late I shall most likely think it incumbent on me to bring them down to this place, and make the most of them—perhaps they will shew a better spirit when they have a larger body of Regulars to set them an example—

(signed) T. B. S[t]: George
L[t] Co[l] Comd[g]

Archives, C. 676, p. 177.

Enclosure. From St. George to Brock.

Copy

Amherstburg 15[th] July 1812

Dear General,

Since my letter of the 8[th] which I sent by the *Hunter*, finding that it would not be possible for me to keep Sandwich owing to the disposition in which I found the Militia; I thought it right to prepare to withdraw the force there to Amherstburg, and on the 10[th] Instant I sent the Assistant Quarter Master General to arrange with M[r]. Francis Baby (who I had appointed to assist in that Department) to drive whatever cattle &c &c could be found, to this Post—On the 11[th] I received a letter from Colonel Baby, stating, that from the preparation made on the opposite side, & every appear-

ance of the Enemy crossing in great force, he had determined (with the unanimous advice of his Officers) to withdraw to Amherstburg immediately. On my arrival there, the same day I found that the heavy guns and Baggage were sent off— And from the information of those I could most depend on, that the men had shewn so great a disposition to get away home, I had every reason to suppose that in the course of the night they would disperse—I thought it best to get them to Amherstburg—

The next morning early (the 12th) the Enemy crossed with the greatest part of his force near Hog Island, and occupied Sandwich—

Since that time the Militia have been going off in such numbers, that I have not more than 471 in all this morning— and in such a state as to be totally inefficient in the field— However when I find in what manner the Enemy attack, I must try them—In the mean time I am endeavouring to get them in some order—Their numerous wants I am straining every nerve to supply—Yet I am stunned with complaints chiefly respecting their families left in the greatest want— Some of the oldest have been allowed to go home—Regular Returns I am unable to get from their officers—There are certainly many well disposed, but the idea of leaving their families and farms at this season occasions their principal disatisfaction—As to the Indians I wished those here to act when I could support them, but as they are so anxious I must let them on, and sustain them as I see occasion, to the utmost of my power—It is impossible to tell their numbers in our favor, as they are continually going and coming—But I shall know in a day or two how many I can have here to depend on—

I hope the Enemy will move forward by land—The Canard is so strong a position that I think (with the assistance of the Indians) I can annoy them much before they can get to this by that Road—

I am sorry I have to complain of want of information of every kind—

The Lady Prevost was launched the day before yesterday.

(Signed) T. B. St: George
Lieut Colonel

Archives, Q. 315, p. 152.
From the Copy in the Public Record Office, London.

Brock's Answer to Hull's Proclamation.

PROCLAMATION.

The unprovoked declaration of War, by the United States of America, against the United Kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland, and its dependencies, has been followed by the actual invasion of this Province in a remote Frontier of the Western District by a detachment of the Armed Force of the United States. The Officer commanding that detachment has thought proper to invite his Majesty's Subjects not merely to a quiet and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of his Government. Without condescending to repeat the illiberal epithets bestowed in this appeal of the American Commander to the people of Upper Canada on the Administration of his Majesty, every Inhabitant of the Province is desired to seek the confutation of such indecent slander in the review of his own particular circumstances: Where is the Canadian Subject who can truly affirm to himself that he has been injured by the Government in his person, his liberty, or his property? Where is to be found in any part of the world, a growth so rapid in wealth and prosperity as this Colony exhibits,—Settled not 30 years by a band of Veterans exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty, not a descendant of these brave people is to be found, who under the fostering liberality of their Sovereign, has not acquired a

property and means of enjoyment superior to what were possessed by their ancestors. This unequalled prosperity could not have been attained by the utmost liberality of the Government or the persevering industry of the people, had not the maritime power of the Mother Country secured to its Colonists a safe access to every market where the produce of their labor was in demand.

The unavoidable and immediate consequence of a seperation from Great Britain, must be the loss of this inestimable advantage, and what is offered you in exchange ? to become a territory of the United States and share with them that exclusion from the Ocean, which the policy of their present Government enforces.—you are not even flattered with a participation of their boasted independence, and it is but too obvious that once exchanged from the powerful protection of the United Kingdom you must be reannexed to the dominion of France, from which the Provinces of Canada were wrested by the Arms of Great Britain, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, from no other motive than to *relieve* her ungrateful children from the oppression of a cruel neighbor: this restitution of Canada to the Empire of France was the stipulated reward for the aid afforded to the revolted Colonies, now the United States ; the debt is still due, and there can be no doubt but the pledge has been renewed as a consideration for Commercial advantages, or rather for an expected relaxation in the Tyranny of France over the Commercial World.—Are you prepared Inhabitants of Upper Canada to become willing Subjects or rather Slaves, to the Despot who rules the Nations of Europe with a rod of Iron ? If not, arise in a Body, exert your energies, co-operate cordially with the King's regular Forces to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children when groaning under the oppression of a foreign Master to reproach you with having too easily parted with the richest Inheritance on Earth.—a participation in the name, character and freedom of Britons.

The same spirit of Justice, which will make every reasonable allowance for the unsuccessful efforts of Zeal and Loyalty, will not fail to punish the defalcation of principle: every Canadian Freeholder is by deliberate choice, bound by the most solemn Oaths to defend the Monarchy as well as his own property; to shrink from that engagement is a Treason not to be forgiven; let no Man suppose that if in this unexpected struggle his Majesties Arms should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, that the Province will be eventually abandoned; the endeared relation of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its Commerce and the pretensions of its powerful rival to repossess the Canadas are pledges that no peace will be established between the United States and Great Britain and Ireland, of which the restoration of these Provinces does not make the most prominent condition.

Be not dismayed at the unjustifiable threat of the Commander of the Enemies forces, to refuse quarter if an Indian appear in the Ranks.—The brave bands of Natives which inhabit this Colony, were, like his Majesty's Subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity by the loss of their possessions in the late Colonies, and rewarded by his Majesty with lands of superior value in this Province: the Faith of the British Government has never yet been violated, they feel that the soil they inherit is to them and their posterity protected from the base Arts so frequently devised to overreach their simplicity. By what new principle are they to be prevented from defending their property? If their Warfare from being different from that of the white people is more terrific to the Enemy, let him retrace his steps—they seek him not—and cannot expect to find women and children in an invading Army; but they are men, and have equal rights with all other men to defend themselves and their property when invaded, more especially when they find in the enemies Camp a ferocious and mortal foe using the same Warfare which the American Commander affects to reprobate.

This inconsistent and unjustifiable threat of refusing quarter for such a cause as being found in Arms with a brother-sufferer in defence of invaded rights, must be exercised with the certain assurance of retaliation, not only in the limited operations of War in this part of the King's Dominions but in every quarter of the globe, for the National character of Britain is not less distinguished for humanity than strict retributive justice, which will consider the execution of this inhuman threat as deliberate Murder, for which every subject of the offending power must make expiation.

Isaac Brock. Maj. Gen. and President.

God Save the King.

Head Quarters Fort George, 22nd July 1812.

By order of His Honor the President,

J. B. Glegg, Capt. A.D.C.

From an Order Book of Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell.

Headquarters, Fort George, 22d July, 1812.

Militia Genl. Orders.

Colonel Talbot will make detachments from the First and Second Norfolk and Oxford and Middlesex Regiments of Militia to consist together of two hundred men with a proportionate number of officers, the whole to be placed under the command of Major Salmon of the Second Regiment of Norfolk Militia. This detachment will be assembled as soon as possible in as complete a state as circumstances will admit for service. Major Salmon will proceed with this force to the Moravian Town on the River Thames where he will await the arrival of Major Chambers under whose command he will place himself.

By order of the Major-General.

J. Macdonell, P.A.D.C.

Archives, C. 688a, p. 145.

From Captain Daniel Springer to Brock.

Delaware 23th July 1812.

Pleas your Honor,

In Obedience to your letter of the 19th Instant, not having a Sufficient number of Men about me, that I Could trust to assist in apprehending the persons Mentioned in your Letter, I immediately Sent to Leut. Col. Bostwick who was then in oxford, on the twenty Second He and Leut. Marrit Came down to delaware, and on the twenty third made an attempt to take Ebenezer [Allan] and Some others about him who had been about his house for Several days, but did not Succeed, they apprehended two persons, John Micks [Meeks] and one Mc Clemings by name, on Suspecion of given Ebenezer and his party notice, I Certify that the Suspecion is on good grounds, they are hired men to one andrew Wesbrook of this place who has been with Some others of his men very intimit with Ebenezer allan Since his arival from Sandwich the Said Ebenezer Allan brought with him General Hulls Proclamations whom he did read to the people, on the ninteenth this westbrook and his men was at Ebenezer allans, and remaind untill Some time in the evening, and I believe Converst with Simon Z Watson who was then there as appears by every Curcomstence, this Wesbrook Pupblicly declare that he would not take up arms against Generals Hulls force, that he had to much property at Stake, there, Likewise was a petition in the Hands of one of his hired men address to General Hull representing Myself to be a troublesom Person, that I was Continully urging the Inhabitants to take up arms and defend themselves, that if Consistant to have me removed from amung them, this was given under oath this day by Mary Allan, this man who had the petition was one thomas Wescoat who is gone to the amerricans—and this andrew Wesbrook was heared to Say addressing himself to an other

person that, Wescoat was not a fit Person to Conduct that business that he would Hang himself, the proclamation of General Hull has Such an affect on the minds of the People that I dare not trust them on any occation whatever, and Conceive myself in danger, the enemy is about two or three times a week within thirty miles of me, and Spyes Continualy amung the People,—When the gard Stopt to refresh themselves Ebenezer Allan Came boldly up to them, and they made him a prisoner, Lieut. Merrit took him and the two other persons into Custody, and promised to Deliver them Safe at niagara, I believe that It Can be proved that Ebenezer Allan and that Syrous Hullberd came in Company with Simon Z Watson and one norton from the american troops.

I am your Honors most
obedient and Very Humble
Servant
Daniel Springer.

Archives, C. 688a, p. 142.

Deposition of Anna Bicroft.

Upper Canada } Personally appeared before me Daniel
London district } Springer Esquire one of his majestys Justices of the peace in and for the Said District, anna bicroft who maketh oath and Saith that on the night of the twenty Second Instant, heard John meeks and one M^{c}Clemings Say that one burns [?] had told them that there was thre flank Companyes of British troops at M^{c}Millens and Saith that on the twenty third Instant at the breake of day the Said John meeks and M^{c}Clemengs Came and got Some powder and ball forom this deponent, and whent off and further this deponent Saith not

Sworn before me
this 23^{d} Day of July 1812 Anna + Bicroft.
Daniel Springer J.P.

Archives, C. 688a, p. 143.

Deposition of William Hamilton Merritt.

Upper Canada } Personally appeared before me Daniel
London district } Springer Esquire one of his majestys Justices of the peace in and for the Said district Lieu[t]. William Merrit, Who maketh oath and Saith, that on meeting John Meeks and one M[c]Cleming, and that they, immediately on Seeing this deponent, fled into the woods—and Saith that he took M[c]Cleming laying under a Log, and asked M[c]Cleming who was with him, he replied no body, this deponent told him, that it was no use to deceive him that he had Seen another man with him, the Said M[c]Cleming then replied, that the man had gone on the other Side of the road and in to the woods, this deponent then asked him where he was going, answered to Kilborns, a little afterward, John Meeks was taken a little distance from M[c]Clemings, and this deponent asked him where he was going answered to M[c]Millens this deponent, asked him what he was going there for, meeks made answer that he had heared there was a Company of Militia or horse, this deponent asked him Whether they were americans or brittish—and that he would not give him a direct answer and further this deponent Saith not

Sworn before me
this 23[th] Day of July 18[1]2 Wm. H. Merritt.
Daniel Springer J.P.

Archives, C. 676, p. 208.

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George
July 26[th] 1812.

Sir,

Since my dispatch to your Excellency of the 20[th] Instant, I have received information of the enemy having made frequent and extensive inroads from Sandwich up the River

Thames—I have in consequence been induced to detach Captain Chambers with about 50 of the 41st Regimt. to the Moravian town where I have directed two hundred Militia to join him—From the loud and apparently warm professions of the Indians residing on the Grand River, I made no doubt of finding at all times a large majority ready to take the field, and act in conjunction with our troops, but accounts received this morning state that they have determined to remain neutral, and had in consequence refused (with the exception of about 50) to join Captain Chamber's detachment.

I meditated, the moment I could collect a sufficient number of Militia, a diversion to the westward, in the hope of compelling General Hull to retreat across the river, but this unexpected intelligence has ruined the whole of my plans. The Militia, which I destined for this service, will now be alarmed, and unwilling to leave their families to the mercy of 400 Indians, whose conduct affords such wide room for suspicion—and really to expect that this fickle race would remain in the midst of war in a state of neutrality is truly absurd—The Indians have probably been led to this change of sentiment by emissaries from General Hull, whose proclamation to the Six Nations is herewith enclosed.

I have not deemed it of sufficient importance to commence active operations on this line by an attack on Fort Niagara—It can be demolished when found necessary in half an hour, and there my means of annoyance would terminate—To enable the Militia to acquire some degree of discipline without interruption is of far greater consequence than such a conquest.

Everything shall be done in my power to overcome the difficulties by which I am surrounded, but without strong re-inforcements, I fear the Country cannot be roused to make exertions, equal, without support, to meet the present crisis.

I proceed immediately to York to attend the meeting of the Legislature—I hope to return on Wednesday—The charge

of this frontier will in the mean time devolve on L^{t}. Colonel Meyers, who appears worthy of every confidence—

The actual invasion of the Province has compelled me to recall that portion of the Militia whom I permitted to return home and work at harvest—I am prepared to hear of much discontent in consequence—The disaffected will take advantage of it and add fuel to the flame but it may not be without reason that I may be accused of having already studied to the injury of the Service, their convenience and humour.

I should have derived much consolation in the midst of my present difficulties had I been honored, previous to the meeting of the Legislature, with Your Excellency's determination in regard to this Province—That it cannot be maintained with its present force is very obvious, and unless the enemy be driven from Sandwich it will be impossible to avert much longer the impending ruin of the Country—Numbers have already joined the invading Army, commotions are excited, and the late occurrences at Sandwich have spread a general gloom.

I have not heard from L^{t}. Colonel S^{t}. George, nor from any individual at Amherstburg, since I last had the honor of addressing Your Excellency, which makes me apprehensive that Colonel Procter has been detained on his journey too long for the good of the Service.

The enemy's cavalry amounts to about fifty. They are led by one Watson, a surveyor from Montreal of a desperate character. This fellow has been allowed to parade with about 20 Men of the same description as far as Westminster, vowing as they went along the most bitter vengeance against the first characters of the Province—Nothing can more strongly shew the state of apathy which exists in that part of the Country—I am perhaps too liberal in attributing the conduct of the inhabitants to that cause.

M^{r}. Couche has represented to the head of his department the total impractibility of carrying on the public service without a remittance in specie, or a government paper

substitute—He was once in expectation of making arrangements with some individuals that would have enabled him to proceed, but I much fear the whole project has fallen to the ground—The Militia on this communication was so clamourous for their pay that I directed M^{r}. Couche to make the necessary advances—This has drained him of the little specie in his possession.

My present Civil office not only authorizes me to convene General Courts Martial for the trial of offenders belonging to the Militia but likewise the infliction of the sentence of death—Whilst in regard to the Military my power is limited to the mere assembling of the Court. I beg leave to submit to the consideration of Your Excellency whether in time like the present I ought not to be invested with equal authority over each Service—

I herewith have the honor to transmit two letters one from Captain Roberts Command^{g} at S^{t}. Josephs, and the second from M^{r}. Dickson a gentleman every way capable of forming a correct judgment of the actual state of the Indians. Nothing can be more deplorable than his description. Yet the United States' Government accuse Great Britain of instigating that people to war—Is not the true cause to be found in the state of desparation to which they are reduced by the unfriendly and unjust measures of that Government towards them ?

I have the honor to be
With the highest respect,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and
Humble Servant
Isaac Brock
M. Gen^{l}.

[Of the enclosures in this letter, the Proclamation of Gen. Hull has not been found in the Canadian Archives : a copy from another source is given at p. 359; the letters from Roberts and Dickson are to be found at pp. 429–432.]

Archives, C. 1218, p. 339.

From Prevost to Brock.

Quebec 27 July 1812

Sir/

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 12th instant.—I can readily understand the temper and disposition of your Militia, and can justly estimate the reluctance with which you submit to the seperation of any portion of them, after the difficulty of Assembling them for training and defence, from the experience I have lately acquired in bringing the Embodied Militia of Lower Canada into a proper state of subordination.—With regard to your deficiency of Arms I have to lament my inability to meet your Wants, beyond the late supplies which have been forwarded to Upper Canada, as they consisted of a full proportion of what I possessed.

The loss of the Cambo Transport on board of which 6,000 stand of Arm's were embarked in England last autumn for this place, is a serious inconvenience. It has been stated to me, that this vessell left Bermuda in April last under convoy of His Majesty's Ship Julia, parted Company in a heavy gale and has not since been heard of.

You will ere this have received a supply of Materials probably sufficient to Clothe about 2,000 of your Militia, and I have now directed the Commissary General to purchase here immediately, (if they are to be had) 1000 or 1500 pairs of shoes, and to send them up as soon as possible.

In addition to the Cannon that has reached, four short 6 Pounders have been ordered to Kingston from Montreal.

Lieut: Col: Myers the Depy. Quarter Mr. General and Colonel Lethbridge an Inspecting Field Officer of Militia have been sent to Upper Canada ;—the latter officer will I hope be found fit for the Command of the Eastern District.

To supply the Want of specie, recourse is about to be had in Lower Canada to a paper Money, as a Circulating Medium, and with the Assistance of the Legislature, who have met my wishes on the subject, I trust the Arrangement for putting in operation the substitute for specie, will speedily be completed,—when it takes effect I shall direct a Statement of the Plan to be transmitted for your information

The Scanty Reinforcement sent from England in the 103rd Regiment composed of about 750 very young Soldiers and Boy's, does not hold out an expectation of adding materially to your strength at present, but to support to the utmost your exertions for the preservation of the communication between Upper & Lower Canada, thereby securing in an extreme case of being attacked by an overwhelming Force, a retreat for the Regulars and Loyalists embodied into this Province, Major Heathcote with two Companies of the Royal Newfoundland Regt. & a further supply of Stores will embark from hence for Kingston on Thursday.

At the same time as many Veterans as are fit for service belonging to the Companies in Upper Canada are under Orders to proceed with the Newfoundland Regiment.—

From the Accounts you have transmitted me of the recent communication had with the Indians, they have appeared to be tractable beyond my expectations, however I am well aware their Faith is not to be relied on.

I have &c &c

(Signed) George Prevost

Commander of the Forces

Archives, C. 688a, p. 153a.

From Colonel Thomas Talbot to Brock.

Oxford Monday 27th July 1812.

My dear General

I arrived at this place this morning from Long point where I had been two days, one spent in endeavouring to pro-

cure 100 Volunteers from the Norfolk Militia—and I am sorry to inform you that notwithstanding the apparent readiness manifested by the Flank Companies of those Batt^{ns}. on former occasions, that when it was understood that the men required, were absolutely to proceed to The River Thames, very few turned out for that service, after much explanation of the expectations of the Government and the disgrace that would attend their Reg^{ts}. I made out about 60 Men, I then ballotted 40 more and ordered the detachment to march to join Major Chambers, as yesterday morning—when I reached the ground from whence the Detachment was to march, I found a large assembly of the Farmers with their Women, who upon my approach addressed me, by declaring that their Men should not March, upon this I enquired if there were any Magistrates present, the answer was, several, I required one to come forward, on which M^{r}. Bemer appeared. I asked him, how he as a Magistrate could permit such proceedings, he offered no excuse, but said that he conceived the measure of withdrawing any of the Militia from Long point was highly improper. I then ordered the party to March, when about a half obeyd and after proceeding a short distance the men fell out, all but about 20, who continued their march, and even those few appeared unwilling, I therefore thought it most prudent to allow those few to return as I could not flatter myself with any material benefit that could result from their weak and uncertain assistance—Major Salmon who was present, I directed to proceed to Head Quarters and state the circumstances as they occurred to you. Major Chambers is at this place with the Flank Companies of the Oxford Militia, L^{t}. Col. Bostwick reports that they have generally volunteered, there are about 60 Rank & file, but I confess I am not disposed to place much reliance on their offers or services—not an Indian as yet and Major Chambers informs me that Norton gave him to understand that 40 or 50 men would be the utmost that he could promise himself from the Grand River

Tribes—Middlesex might furnish about 60 men but from Mr Bostwicks information, that those of Delaware and Westminster had sent a petition to Genl. Hull for protection, you will be enabled to value the support that may be expected from that part of Middlesex—In fact, My dear Genl. the prospect is dismal, unless there is some other resource that I am not acquainted with—I have advised Major Chambers not to advance his small and valuable party until he received orders from you or obtained such strength as might justify such movement—I have thought of going to Port Talbot for a day to oversee my affairs there. I'm most anxious to know your determination, if you should be forced to send to Genl. Hull do let me know as those in promise of land on performing their settlement duties should be included in such conditions as may be entered into and something relative to myself—Mr. Crooks who is begging to be off requires my concluding by assuring you My Dear Genl. that I am ever with truth

Most faithfully Yrs
Thomas Talbot.

Archives, C. 688a, p. 151.

From Lieutenant Colonel Bostwick to Major Chambers.

Oxford 27th July 1812

Sir/

In consequence of information communicated to me by Danl. Springer Esqr. of Delaware, I have thought proper to detain Andrew Westbrook at this place until the pleasure of Genl. Brock can be known respecting him. Mr. Springer informed me that Westbrook had been very officious in causing a Petition to be circulated, addressed to Genl. Hull, requesting him to save them & their property. Stating that they would not take up Arms against him, Also that Westbrook had declared that he (Westbrook) had too much property to risk it by opposing the Americans, and further that West-

brook's nightly attendance was very frequent at the House of Ebenezer Allen, during the time Watson was there—And that he had advised the people of Delaware to commit the management of the Petition to Gen[l]. Hull, to a more proper person than the one who had it.—

I am
Sir
Your Ob[t] S[t]
H. Bostwick
L[t] Col
Com[g] Oxford Militia.

P.S. M[r]. Springer informed me that the Petition had been transmitted to Gen[l]. Hull by One Westcoat—

H. B.

Archives, Militia Papers, M.D., Vol. 31.

From Talbot to Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Ryerson.

Oxford 28[th] July 1812

Dear Sir

I was so much mortified at the behaviour of the Men belonging to The Norfolk Flank Companies in refusing to march, that I had nearly determined never to take any further command of The Militia of that County—but on my arrival at this place finding that a general disposition of zeal and Loyalty prevailed in The Flank Companies of this County and feeling the necessity of a firm attempt to force the body of the Enemy that has entered our Country to recross The River to Detroit—I conceive that if the Body of the Militia were assembled and the situation of the regulars and The Oxford Flank Companies under the Command of L[t]. Col. Bostwick were explained to the Men, that still there might a considerable number turn out to assist in this cause of relief to the Province. I therefore request that you will assemble

your Reg^{t}. and use y^{r}. influence in getting as many as you can and forward them under good officers to this Place, Cap^{n}. Bostwick who is going with me to Port Talbot will be back in a couple of days & he will accompany any of his men who may offer their services—

I am
Dear Sir
faithfully Y^{rs}
Thomas Talbot.

Archives, C. 676, p. 217.

From Brock at York to Prevost at Quebec.

[Endorsement] Maj: Gen^{l}. Brock July 28th 1812 inclosing letter from Col: Baby, & Copy Speech to the two houses of P.P. & their addresss in reply.

York July 28th 1812

Sir,

I consider the enclosed letter this instant received from the Hon^{ble}. James Baby of sufficient importance to forward by express—

I conceived the Long point Militia the most likely to shew the best disposition of any in this part of the Country, and their refusal to join Captain Chambers indicates the little reliance that ought to be place in any of them. My situation is getting each day more critical I still mean to try and send a force to the relief of Amherstburg, but almost despair of succeeding—The population, though I had no great confidence in the Majority, is worse than I expected to find it—And all Magistrates &c &c appear quite confounded, and decline acting—the consequence is the most improper conduct is tolerated—The officers of Militia exert no authority, everything shews as if a certainty existed of a change taking place soon. But I still hope the arrival of re-inforcements

may yet avert such a dire calamity—Many in that case would become active in our cause who are now dormant

I have the honor herewith to transmit a copy of my Speech to the two houses delivered yesterday. A more decent House has not been elected since the formation of the province—but I perceive at once that I shall get no good of them. They, like the Magistrates and others in office, evidently mean to remain passive. The repeal of the Habeas Corpus will not pass—And if I have recourse to the Law Martial I am told the whole armed force will disperse Never was an officer placed in a more awkward predicament—The Militia cannot possibly be governed by the present Law. All admit the fact, yet the fear of giving offence, will prevent everything effectual being effected—I entreat the advice of Your Excellency! Some letters rec^{d}. from individuals represent the conduct of 41st above all praise—I cannot get a line from Colonel S^{t}. George—Colonel Procter was provokingly delayed on his journey—I entreat Your Excellency to excuse the haste with which I presume to address you

I have the honor to be with sentiments of the highest regard and respect

Your Excellency
Faithful and
Obedient Servant
Isaac Brock, M.G—

Archives, C. 676, p. 219.

Enclosure. From Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. James Baby to Captain Glegg.

Dundas Street
Copy 30 miles from York
27th July 9 o'clock P.M.

Sir,

I am just arrived at this place—I hasten to write as I understand it is likely General Brock will go back to Niagara

immediately—Should it be his pleasure to see me before he goes, I will be in York tomorrow as soon as I can—I have not been able to procure a fresh horse, mine is completely tired after a jaunt by the way of Pointe Pélé. I coasted the lake to Colonel Talbot's settlement—I left Amherstburg in the afternoon of last monday. I met Colonel Procter on thursday, bound by the wind six or seven miles above Colonel Talbots—

From the weather we have had, he must be now at Amherstburg—On last saturday sen'night a party of about one hundred and fifty Americans came to the River Canard and skirmished with a party of our People, they wounded two men of the 41st, one died, the other was expected also to die—the Americans were repulsed—The next day, Sunday, they returned to the same place, and began to skirmish; they were again repulsed, lost four men and had several wounded; they retreated with great precipitation and were followed by a few Indians some considerable distance; some of our Boats went as far as Turkey Creek, the Americans had already got beyond it, on their way to Sandwich—About eleven or twelve at noon on Monday last, the Queen Charlotte anchored opposite the mouth of the Canard, made signal that a large party was coming again to the Canard Bridge.—A party of the 41st were on the South side of the Bridge and a good number of Indians had gone to join them—An Express came from the place where a third action had taken place, and informed that our party with two field pieces had repulsed the Americans who had brought four pieces with them—I have no doubt but they were more completely beaten than before—We were forced to come away before the issue—We had not more than about 230 Indians when I left Amherstburg—A report prevailed that about 300 were expected from the River Huron near the mouth of the River, and a like number from St: Josephs under Mr. Robert Dixon. God grant they may be there—There were still between three and four hundred Militia when

I came away—A great number had withdrawn themselves to go to the harvest—I have no letters from Colonel St: George for the General, tho' he told me he would write—I called, and sent for his letter, but did not get it—He had gone to the river Canard.

I am sorry to say that the volunteers of Long Point whom I saw yesterday have refused to march, not one is gone to join Major Chambers—I fear those of Oxford will follow their bad example—I parted with Colonel Talbot yesterday about four or five o'.clock PM. he was going to Burford—I should not omit to say there is a great want of balls for the Indians—The Hurons have done all they could to dissuade the other nations from joining us—I heard that Norton instead of 150 or 200 of the Six Nations could hardly get fifty to go up to the westward—We want immediate assistance in that quarter, I write this from Dundas Street at John Clever's, and send it by a Missisagé to overtake you, before you go over—In case the General would wish for more information than I can give on this paper—I have written in the dark therefore excuse this scrawl—If the General goes round the Lake I may meet him at the Credit—

I give you this rough detail for his information—

I remain Sir &c &c &c
(signed) J. Baby.

Archives, C. 676, p. 229.

Enclosure. Speech of President Brock to the two Houses of the Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada.

Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

The urgency of the present Crisis is the only consideration which could have induced me to call you together at

a time when Public as well as private duties elsewhere demanded your care and attention.

But Gentlemen, when Invaded by an Enemy whose avowed object is the entire Conquest of this Province, the Voice of Loyalty as well as of Interest calls aloud to every person in the Sphere in which he is placed, to defend his Country.

Our Militia have heard that Voice, and have obeyed it: they have evinced by the promptitude and Loyalty of their conduct, that they are worthy of the King whom they serve, and of the Constitution which they enjoy; and it affords me particular satisfaction, that while I address you as Legislators, I speak to Men, who in the day of danger, will be ready to assist, not only with their Counsel, but with their Arms.

We look Gentlemen, to our Militia, as well as to the Regular Forces for our protection; but I should be wanting to that important Trust committed to my care if I attempted to conceal (what experience, the great Instructor of Mankind, and especially of Legislatures has discovered) that Amendment is necessary in our Militia Laws to render them efficient—It is for you to consider what further improvements they still may require.

Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

From the History and Experience of our Mother Country we learn, that in times of actual Invasion or internal commotion the ordinary course of Criminal Law has been found inadequate to secure His Majestys Government from private Treachery as well as from open disaffection; and that at such times it's Legislature has found it expedient to enact Laws restraining, for a limited period, the Liberty of Individuals in many cases where it would be dangerous to expose the particulars of the charge, and although the actual Invasion

of the Province, might justify me in the exercise of the full powers reposed in me, on such an emergency, yet it will be more agreeable to me to receive the Sanction of the two Houses.

A few Traitors have already joined the Enemy—have been suffered to come into the Country with impunity and have been harboured and concealed in the interior, Yet the general Spirit of Loyalty which appears to pervade the Inhabitants of this Province is such as to authorize a just expectation, that their efforts to mislead and deceive will be unavailing—The disaffected, I am convinced are few—to protect and defend the Loyal Inhabitants from their Machinations is an object worthy of your most serious deliberations.

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly

I have directed the Public accounts of the Province to be laid before you in as complete a State as the unusual period will admit—they will afford you the means of ascertaining to what extent you can Aid in providing for the Extrordinary demands occasioned by the employment of the Militia, and I doubt not but to that extent you will cheerfully contribute.

Honble. Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest—by Unanimity and dispatch in our Councils, and by Vigour in our operations, we may teach the enemy this lesson—That a country defended by Free Men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and Constitution, can never be conquered—

Archives, C. 676, p. 223.

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] 28TH JULY 1812. ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY IN ANSWER TO HIS HONOR THE PRESIDENTS SPEECH ON OPENING THE SESSION.

To His Honor Isaac Brock Esquire, President administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada and Major General Commanding His Majesty's Forces therein

&c. &c. &c.

May it please your Honor.

We His Majestys most dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Commons of Upper Canada in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return you our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious Speech at the opening of the present session

We are convinced that the urgency of the present crisis is the only consideration that could have induced your Honor to call us together at a time when public as well as Private duties must elsewhere demand our care & attention.

But when Invaded by an Enemy, whose avowed object is the entire conquest of this Province, we feel that the Voice of Loyalty as well as of Interest calls aloud to every person in the Sphere in which he is placed, to defend his Country.

That our Militia have heard that voice and have obeyed it, that they have evinced, by the promptitude and Loyalty of their conduct, that they are worthy of the King whom they serve and of the Constitution which they enjoy, are to us sources of the most pleasing satisfaction; and We have the utmost confidence that in your Honor's anticipation of our readiness to assist in the day of Danger not only with our Councils but with our Arms you will not be disappointed.

We feel that we must look to our Militia as well as to the Regular Forces for our protection, and we are fully impressed with the important Truth which experience (the great in-

structor of Mankind as well as of Legislators) has discovered, that amendment is necessary to our Militia Laws, to render them efficient—We will consider what further improvement may still be necessary and will cheerfully concur in such amendments as will render that part of our force equal to the crisis in which they are called to act.

We agree with your Honor, that, from the History and Experience of our Mother country We learn that in time of actual Invasion or internal commotion the ordinary course of Criminal Law has been found inadequate to secure His Majestys Government from private Treachery as well as from open disaffection, and that at such times it's Legislature has found it expedient to enact Laws restraining the liberty of Individuals in many cases, where it would be dangerous to expose the particulars of the charge; and we shall cheerfully cooperate with the other branches of the Legislature in adopting such measures (consistent with the Liberty and safety of His Majestys Subjects) as the present crisis and the security of the Province require.

We feelingly lament that even a few Traitors should have already joined the Enemy, that they should have been suffered to come into the Country with impunity and have been harboured in the interior: their number however is small, and we are happy to perceive that the general Spirit of Loyalty which appears to pervade the Inhabitants of this Province is such as to authorise the just expectation, that their efforts to mislead and deceive will be unavailing

With your Honor we are convinced that the disaffected are few, and that to protect and defend the Loyal Inhabitants from their machinations is an object worthy of our most serious deliberations—We shall pay every attention to the subject, and will, on our parts, adopt such salutary regulations as will we trust fully answer the object in view.

When the Public accounts are laid before us we shall have the means of ascertaining to what extent we can aid in

providing for the Extraordinary demands occasioned by the employment of the Militia and to that extent we will cheerfully contribute.

We feel that we are engaged in an awful and eventful contest and that by unanimity and dispatch in our Councils and Vigor in our operations We may teach the enemy this lesson—That a country defended by Free-men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and Constitution can never be conquered.

To obtain that important end, we pledge our most zealous co-operation ; and we trust that the exertions we shall make in defence of our Liberties and possessions, will, aided by your honors professional talents and experience, be such as to do honor to the cause we have to defend and to the country of which we form a part—

(signd) Allan MacLean
Speaker

Commons House of Assembly,
28th July 1812.

Archives, C. 676, p. 226.

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] 29TH JULY 1812 ADDRESS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL TO HIS HONOR THE PRESIDENT IN ANSWER TO HIS SPEECH ON OPENING THE SESSION.

Copy/

To His Honor Isaac Brock Esquire, President Administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major General Commanding His Majesty's Forces in the said Province—

May it please Your Honor

We His Majesty's dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Legislative Council of Upper Canada in Parliament assembled,

return our most grateful thanks for Your Honor's Speech at the opening of this Session of the Legislature.

When invaded by an Enemy whose avowed object is the entire Conquest of this Province, we laying aside all inferior considerations, do most willingly obey Your Honor's commands by appearing in our Legislative Capacity for the purpose of using our utmost efforts for the protection and defence of every thing that is dear to us as Subjects and as Men.

We shall be happy indeed, if by the promptitude, Loyalty and vigour of our Conduct we prove ourselves Worthy of the King whom we serve and of the constitution which we enjoy.

The Commendation which Your Honor has been pleased to bestow on Our Militia, affords us the highest gratification whilst the attention which You have paid to the Laws already enacted respecting that Body of Men calls for our most grateful acknowledgements—It shall be our endeavour to consider what improvements may still be wanting to render those Laws more efficient and Salutary.

We feel the force of what Your Honor has been pleased to State respecting the Laws that have been enacted in times of danger in our parent Country, whereby a Nation the most free upon Earth, did voluntarily for a time resign a portion of its liberty that it might be enabled to transmit it entire to future generations—

Placed in similar circumstances it shall be our most solemn duty to consider whether we ought not to follow that Example—

Altho' a few Traitors may have joined the Enemy, and may have been harboured and concealed by persons equally wicked with themselves, Yet we are happy to learn from Your Honor that the disaffected are but few in number, and that a general Spirit of Loyalty appears to pervade this Province.

We are fully sensible that we are engaged in an awful

and eventful Contest, and that it is only by unanimity and despatch in our Councils, and by vigour in our Operations that we can hope to teach our Enemies that a Country defended by Free-men enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King, can never be conquered—

Permit us to add that we repose the highest Confidence in Your Honor's unremitting attention to whatever may be necessary to the protection, safety and prosperity of this Province—

(signed) Thos. Scott
Speaker

Legislative Council Chamber
29 July 1812

Archives, C. 676, p. 239.

From Brock at York to Colonel Edward Baynes, Adjutant General, at ——.

York, July 29th 1812

Dear Colonel,

I was not favored with your letters of the 8th and 10th Instant until this morning. I had not before received any official communication of war being declared, and I assure you began to fear I was wholly forgot. My situation is most critical, not from any thing the enemy can do, but from the disposition of the people—The population, believe me is essentially bad—A full belief possess them all that this Province must inevitably succumb—This prepossession is fatal to every exertion—Legislators, Magistrates, Militia Officers, all, have imbibed the idea, and are so sluggish and indifferent in all their respective offices that the artful and active scoundrel is allowed to parade the Country without interruption, and commit all imaginable mischief—They are so alarmed of offending that they rather encourage than repress disorders or other proper acts. I really believe it is with some cause they dread the vengeance of the democratic party, they are

such a set of unrelenting villains, but to business—Several of my letters must have miscarried, otherwise you would long since have been aware that I requested you to re-instate Lieu^{t}. Johnston in the Glengary Regiment—He may not be very efficient but then consider the claims of his family—Indeed the proposition came originally from you. Should Johnson be rejected, I am under previous engagements to *Lamont* therefore cannot give ear to FitzGibbon's application.

I have necessarily so many detachments along my widely extended frontier that I cannot possibly spare an Officer, I have therefore detained L^{t}. Kerr of the Glengary I am obliged to mix regulars with the Militia, otherwise I could not get on at all. It is a pity you did not understand his wishes in regard to the recruiting business.

What a change an additional regiment would make in this part of the Province ! ! Most of the people have lost all confidence—I however speak loud and look big—Altho' you may not be able to cast a look this far, you must not omit Johnson and Kingston. Some regulars will be highly necessary. I wish very much some thing might be done for M^{r}. Grant Powell. He was regularly brought up in England as a Surgeon. I intended to have proposed to Sir George to appoint him permanent Surgeon to the Marine department, but I scarcely think the situation would now answer. His abilities I should think might be usefully employed now that so many troops are called out.

Mess^{rs} Dickson, Porthier and Crawford behaved nobly at the capture of Michilimakanac—This event may give a total change to the War in the West—Captain Roberts is spoken of in the highest terms—

I must bid you Adieu
Yours faithfuly
Isaac Brock

I propose provided the 41st agree to receive Lieu^{t}. Cartwright to allow him to return to his duty in that Corps—

Archives, C. 676, p. 236.

From Brock at York to Prevost at——

York
July 29th 1812

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit herewith a dispatch this instant received from Captain Roberts announcing the surrender by Capitulation on the 17th Instant of Fort Michilimakinac—

The conduct of this officer since his appointment to the Command of that distant part of the Province, has been distinguished by much zeal and judgment, and his recent eminent display of those qualities, Your Excellency will find, has been attended with the most happy effect—

The Militia stationed here volunteered this morning without the least hesitation their services to any part of the Province—I have selected one hundred whom I have directed to proceed without delay to Long point—where I propose collecting a force for the relief of Amherstburg—This example, I hope, will be followed by as many as may be required—By the Militia Law a man refusing to march may be fined five pounds, or confined three months, and although I have assembled the Legislature for the express purpose of amending the act, I much fear nothing material will be done. Your Excellency will scarcely believe that this infatuated House of Assembly have refused by a majority of two to suspend for a limited time the Habeas Corpus.

The Capture of Michilimakanac may produce great changes to the Westward—the actual invasion of the Province justifies every act of hostility on the American territory.

It was not till this morning I was honored with Your Excellency's dispatches dated the 7th and 10th Instant—their contents, I beg to assure Your Excellency, have relieve my mind considerably—I doubt whether General Hull had instructions to cross to this side the river—I rather suspect he

was compelled by a want of provisions—I embark immediately in the Prince Regent for Fort George, I return here the day after tomorrow, and probably dissolve the Legislature—

The 41st Regiment behave, according to common report, with the utmost gallantry. I have not heard from Lt. Colonel St. George since the 15th Inst. An officer it appears was compelled to retreat but unfortunately omitted to withdraw two Sentinels he had placed at a bridge. These men stood firm firing as the enemy advanced, at length they both fell, but one was seen again to rise and oppose with the bayonet, holding the musket with one hand, the other arm being broken, every one near him—he soon was overwhelmed—this act of heroism took place in sight of the Indians and Militia, and created uncommon interest. The House of Assembly, I understand, mean to take public notice of this act of consummate gallantry and true discipline—many other instances might be cited in praise of this Corps—Captain Muir is highly spoken of—I shall offer no apology for detaining Your Excellency on such a subject—I must add that the enemy the second day brought out four pieces of artillery against two of ours but were silenced in ten minutes. Nothing could be more wretched than the manner their artillery was served—

With the highest respect
Your Excellencys
Faithful Obedient Servant
Isaac Brock M.G.

[For the enclosure from Captain Roberts see pp. 433–434.]

Toronto of Old, by Henry Scadding; Toronto, 1873; p. 79.

GARRISON ORDER.

[York, July 29, 1812.]

"In consequence of an order from Major-General Brock, commanding the forces, for a detachment of volunteers, under the command of Major Allan, to hold themselves in readiness

to proceed in batteaux to the Head of the Lake to-morrow at 2 o'clock, the following officers, non-commissioned officers and privates will hold themselves in readiness to proceed at 2 o'clock, for the purpose of being fitted with caps, blankets and haversacks, as well as to draw provisions. On their arrival at the Head of the Lake, regimental coats and canteens will be ready to be issued to them." [The names are then given.] "Capt. Heward, Lieut. Richardson, Lieut. Jarvis, Lieut. Robinson. Sergeants Knott, Humberstone, Bond, Bridgeford."

"Major-General Brock has desired me (Captain Stephen Heward) to acquaint the detachment under my command, of his high approbation of their orderly conduct and good discipline while under arms: that their exercise and marching far exceeded any that he had seen in the Province. And in particular he directed me to acquaint the officers how much he is pleased with their appearance in uniform and their perfect knowledge of their duty."

Archives, C. 1218, p. 347.

From Prevost to Liverpool.

N°. 59
O
D

Quebec 30th July 1812—

My Lord/

I do myself the honor to report to your Lordship that I have this Morning received despatches from Major General Brock commanding in Upper Canada, conveying to me the intelligence that an American Army of 2000 Men under the Command of B. Genl. Hull had made its appearance at Detroit, and that a large Detachment from it had crossed on the 12 inst. to our possessions in Upper Canada, and are now occupying the village of Sandwich, a few Miles above Fort Amherstburg;—

At Sandwich several Hundreds of the Militia with a small Detachment of regular Troops from the 41st Regiment and two Field pieces were collected to defend it, but the Enemy landing in several points so superior a force, occasioned our Troops and the Militia to retreat to Fort Amherstburg ;

Immediately on the Enemys taking up his position at Sandwich B. Genl. Hull issued an Artful and insidious proclamation, (a copy of which I enclose for your Lordships information) and which I have reason to apprehend has already been productive of considerable effect on the minds of the People,—a general sentiment prevails in that part of Upper Canada, that with the present Force of the Enemy resistance is unavailing and great Numbers of the Militia have returned to their homes, under the promise held out to them by General Hull that if they remain at their Homes, their Persons and private Property will be respected, Lieut. Colonel St. George commanding at Fort Amherstburg states that not more than 470 of the Militia were with him on the 15th instant and those in such a state as to be totally inefficient in the Field ;—Lieut. Colonel St. George has also about 300 of the 41st Regt with him at Fort Amherstburg.

Were it possible to animate the Militia in that part of the Upper Province with a proper sense of their Duty something might yet be done, for its defence, Lt. Col. St. Georges position at Fort Amherstburg is very good and formidable—but should he be compelled to retire there is no alternative for him, than Embarking in the Kings Vessels and proceeding to Fort Erie ;

By the report of the Captain of Engineers I sent to Amherstburg, I am informed that 20 pieces of Cannon are mounted in the Fort—the Platforms and Gun carriages are all repaired—the four Bastions fraized and the escarp all round deepened—they have a large quantity of Timber in the Fort,—

a splinter proof Log Building has been thrown up and a small expence Magazine is in a state of forwardness.—

Major General Brock has enclosed to me the Copies of
[3] *some interesting documents found on board a schooner (captured by the Boats of His Majestys Schooner Hunter) on her Voyage from Miami to Detroit, which I have the honor to transmit herewith for your Lordships information.

I have &c &c

(Signed) George Prevost
Commander of the Forces

Archives, C. 1218, p. 345.

From Prevost to Liverpool.

N°. 60

O
D

Quebec 30th July 1812

My Lord/

In addition to my dispatch N°. 59 of this date, I have the honor to represent to your Lordship that the exhausted state of the Military Chest of the Canadas and the impossibility of replenishing it but from England, exposes His Majesty's service to serious difficulties, which will not altogether be removed by the operation of the Army Bill Law, which has passed the House of Assembly and is now with the Legislative Council ;—

I cannot doubt its affording much relief to our embarrassed Finances, altho' I shall have to contend in enforcing it with the deep rooted prejudice of Canadians against a paper money ;

I cannot more fully bring the subject before your Lordship than by enclosing a representation which has been made to me by the Commissary General of the embarrassments in his Department from the difficulties experienced in obtaining the smallest supply of Money.—

I have &c &c

(Signed) George Prevost
Commander of the Forces

* These three enclosures form a correspondence between the United States War Department and General Hull, relating to his march to Detroit.

Enclosure. Letter from Commissary General Robinson.

Commissary Generals Office
Quebec 30th July 1812

Sir/

I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that in addition, to the embarrassments I have lately laboured under in this Province, from the total want of specie so well known to you that I need not here detail them, I have this morning received a Letter from Deputy Commissary General Couche which occasions me the greatest alarm, he informs me that Major General Brock has ordered out one third of the Militia of Upper Canada (about 4000 Men) and he begs to be informed in what Manner they are to be paid.—The expence attending this measure will be about Fifteen Thousand Pounds a Month, a sum which it will be impracticable to find in that Country, Nor have I the means of affording effectual Assistance at this moment, and if the Militia are not regularly paid, great evil will ensue, indeed Mr. Couche represents some symptoms of discontent have already appeared ; Besides this expence, various other payments are also at a stand, tho' I have paid drafts of my sub Accountants to a large Amount lately, and more are daily presented to me, but still a sufficiency of Money cannot be raised in this Way, from the scarcity of specie ; The prospect of a paper medium being immediately established here will be a relief to this Province, but without the concurrence of the Legislature of Upper Canada it cannot be counted upon as a certain Assistance there. Yet I submit to your Excellency the expedience of trying the experiment by sending a Packet of our Notes as soon as they can be issued, with such recommendations to Genl. Brock upon the subject, as you may deem adviseable.

In Mr. Couches former Letter of the 3rd instant, which I had the honor to lay before you ; he held out a prospect of relief from the establishment of a Paper Currency upon a

limited scale, and under the Auspices merely of the Merchants upon which in his last Letter he is silent, therefore I conclude it has not produced the beneficial effects he expected.

Under all these Circumstances, I beg leave to suggest to your Excellency the Necessity of recommending to His Majesty's Government to use every endeavor to send out specie from England before the Navigation Closes, which for the reasons I have mentioned is requisite towards the Aid of the other Province, and will also be extremely desirable in this, notwithstanding the prospect of a Paper medium, as I have reason to think the Lowest Note intended to be recognized by the Legislature is Four Dollars, and these payable on demand in Cash.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your Excellency's
Most obedient, and
Most humble Servant
(Signed) W^m^ H: Robinson
Commissary General

Archives, C. 1218, p. 349.

From Prevost to Brock.

Quebec 31^st^ July 1812

Sir/

I have received your Letter of the 20^th^ instant accompanied by the copy of two Letters from Lieu^t^. Col. S^t^. George, who is in command at Amherstburg, and some interesting documents found on Board a Schooner which had been taken by the Boats of the Schooner Hunter;

In consequence of your having desired Colonel Proctor to proceed to Amherstburg and of your presence being Necessary at the Seat of Government to meet the Legislature of Upper Canada, I have taken upon myself to place

Major Gen[l]. Sheaffe on the Staff to enable me to send him to assist you in the arduous task you have to perform, in the able execution of which I have great confidence; He has been accordingly directed to proceed without delay to Upper Canada, there to place himself under your Command.

I believe you are Authorized by the Commission under which you administer the Government of Upper Canada to declare Martial Law in the event of Invasion or Insurrection it is therefore for you to consider whether you can obtain any thing equivalent to that power from your Legislature, I have not succeeded in obtaining a Modification of it in Lower Canada and must therefore upon the occurrence of either of those calamities declare the Law Martial unqualified, and of course shut the Doors of the Courts of Civil Law.

The Report transmitted by Captain Dixon of the Royal Engineers to Lieu[t]. Colonel Bruyeres of the state of defence in which he had placed Fort Amherstburg, together with the description of Troops allotted for its defence, give me a foreboding that the result of Gen[l]. Hulls attempt upon that Fort will terminate honorably to our Arm's.

If L[t]. Col: S[t]. George is possessed of the talents and resources required to form a Soldier he is fortunate in the opportunity of displaying them.

Should Gen[l]. Hull be compelled to relinquish his operations against Amherstburg, it will be proper his future movements should be most carefully observed, as his late march exhibits a more than ordinary Character of enterprize.

Your supposition of my slender means is but too correct, Notwithstanding you may rely upon every exertion being made to preserve uninterrupted the communication between Kingston and Montreal, and that I will also give all possible support to your endeavors to overcome every difficulty.

The possession of Malden which I consider means Amherstburg appears a favorite object with the Government of the United States,—I sincerely hope you will disappoint them.

Should the intelligence which arrived yesterday by the way of Newfoundland prove correct, a remarkable coincidence will exist in the revocation of our orders in Council as regards America, and the declaration of War by Congress against England, both having taken place on the same day in London and at Washington, the 17th June.

I have &c &c

Signed George Prevost
Commander of the Forces

Archives, C. 688A, p. 162.

From Major P. L. Chambers to Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Myers at Niagara.

31st July 1812

From every account I can Collect I am led to Imagine Watson has gone to the American army and Wesbrook is on his Way to the Same Place. I have therefore decided to move on to Delaware as there are a Number of Cattle and Plenty of Provisions to be procured there and it is doubtless the Intention of Watson to Return with such a Party as Shall be Sufficient to despoil that Part of the Country and of course prevent our advancing.

Westbrook has twelve head of Cattle and above one Hundred Bushels of Corn.

Delaware is More Centrical and it is easier to Establish an Intercourse with Col Procter from that Place than here. I shall move on today with ten Light Horse and some Militia the Remainder of the Flank Companies with Major Touzely goes off tomorrow with the 41st and Light Horse. I hope this arrangement may meet the Generals approbation.

We have accounts from Amherstburgh by an Indian of a Battle or rather Skirmish having taken Place in which the Indians behaved well and the Americans Lost about Thirty Men. I hope it may be true as a Trifling Circumstance of

that kind may Infuse ardour and confidence. I shall write on my arrival at Delaware. I have seen M^r. Springer a Magistrate highly spoken of by Colonel Talbot on consideration we have thought Better not to send the Man alluded to in a Former Part of my Letter as we find he will be of some consequence in giv us Information. The Name of the man is Stiles. I am in hopes to have s[ome]* Intelligence shortly worthy of Communicating.

Believe me to be Sir
with respect
Your most obedient
Humble Serv^t
Peter Latouche Chambers
Major Commanding

Archives, Militia Papers, M.D., vol. 31.

District General Order.

Fort George 31^st July 1812

D.G.O

The Major General Commanding is happy to announce to the Troops, under his Command, the Surrender of Michilimacanac together with the Ordnance Stores &ca. to His Majestys arms ; The Garrison Prisoners of War. Too much praise cannot be given to Captain Roberts who commanded as well for his firmness and Judgement during the preparation made for the attack as to his prudence which controled the feelings of his Force, after the Enemy surrendered.—The Major General Thanks those Gentlemen &ca, in the neighbourhood who so honorably contributed to Cap^t. Roberts' exertions and is pleased with the Conduct of the Indians, who on this Occasion directed by the Generous feelings of Britons ; spared that Enemy which otherwise they could have annihilated.—

N°. 2. The Major General announces with pride and satisfaction, the complete repulse of the Enemy, by that part of the army stationed at Amherstburgh on two seperat

* Edge of document torn.

Occasions and thanks them for their Gallantry—The Militia behaved honorably; the Indians with the most determined spirit: but the conduct of the 41st Regiment, commanded the admiration of all who witnessed their heroic Valour—If the Enemy is thus made to sustain severe losses at the Threshold of our Territory by a small but determined band of United Troops, what has he to expect from the whole Physical Force of the Province actuated by an ardour and Loyalty worthy their Sires—

N°. 3. Commanding Officers will be attentive in ascertaining that all General Orders are read to the Troops composing the Militia Force.

N°. 4. Mr. James Cummings is appointed to act in the Commissariat Department with the pay of 10/ per day and Forage for One Horse to Commence from the 24th Instant—

By order

(signed) Thomas Evans

B. Major—

Archives, C. 677, p. 1.

From Brock to Baynes.

York August 4th 1812.

My dear Colonel

I shall probably not have to trouble Sir George by this conveyance. He must by this time be in full possession of the state of this Province—He must be sensible that considerable reinforcements are absolutely necessary, and that without them my Situation will very soon become very critical

The House of Assembly have refused to do any one thing they were required—The truth is that, with of course few exceptions, every body considers the fate of the country as already decided, and is afraid to appear conspicuous, in the promotion of measures in the least calculated to retard the catastrophe.

I cannot hear what is going on at Amherstburg. I begin to be uneasy for Procter, should any accident befall him I shall begin to despond for the fate of Amherstburg—I am

collecting a force at Long point with a view to afford him relief, but until I receive information of the state of affairs in that quarter, I cannot move. The last letter fm. Col. St. George is dated the 15th written three days after Genl Hull crossed the River with his army—Mr. Baby Comg. the Militia who has arrived here to attend his parliamentary duties, brought accounts to the 20th on which day, and at the very moment he was setting off, an attack was making on our post, the particulars of which he, of course, is unable to relate, but he heard that some one had arrived frm the field and stated that the enemy was retiring—An Indian has since reported that he counted 30 dead bodies, and that the Americans had besides many wounded—This attack must have been made in great force—The instructions contained in the Governor's Commission authorize me to proclaim Martial Law in the event of invasion and by the 4th art of the 24 Sec: of the Mutiny Act " the General, Governor, or *Officer Commanding in Chief* for the time being is to appoint General Courts Martial " &c. I am in doubt whether I come within the above description—I neither Command in Chief—nor have I the King's Sign Matual [? Manual] to enable me to approve of the sentence of Courts Martial—These are delicate considerations—I believe I should resort to the experiment of declaring Martial Law, but for the above doubts, which cause me to hesitate—Do Militia Officers sit during Martial Law indiscriminately with officers of the line ? I am told the instant the law is promulgated the Militia will disperse. It may be so, but on the other hand I am convinced that unless strong coercive measures be adopted to restrain the infamous proceedings of the disaffected the province will be lost even without a struggle—A petition has already be carried to Genl. Hull signed by many inhabitants about Westminster inviting him to advance with a promise to join him—What in the name of heaven can be done with such a vile population—The ungrateful and infamous conduct of the Indians on

the Grand River is still more mortifying—These fellows give me every inquietude. They afford the Militia a plausible pretext for staying at home—they do not like leaving their families within the power of the Indians—The moment Government be in a condition to do itself justice, the first step ought to be to expel the Indians from their present residence and place them out of the reach of doing mischief—My thoughts have been directed to the measures necessary to be adopted to secure in case of necessity a retreat. The 41st is necessarily so Much scattered that I find the utmost difficulty to arrange any plan—I scarcely think the enemy will attack my front—He probably will prefer making a discent at Sugar Loaf, and another of greater magnitude half way to the head of the Lake or Burlington bay—I shall find the utmost difficulty to concentrate my small force for the instant I quit any part of the frontier a force, it is reasonable to expect, will be in readiness to cross and press my rear—The Indians will then shew their true disposition. And as human nature in all instances in which it determines to forsake and act against a benefactor is found infinitely more rancorous and cruel, every thing horrid must be expected to be committed.

I intended to have restored Lt. Cartwright to the Society of the 41st but the officers requested that I should save them the mortification. The fact is the general conduct of that officer has not given satisfaction—I of course could not press the measure—I have recommended his going to Quebec.

Do, my dear Colonel, write frequently independently of the post, and give me hopes of more troops—A regiment between Kingston and Montreal, and another here would change the face of affairs materially.

Believe me
with truth
Yours
Isaac Brock M G.

Archives, C. 677, p. 5.

From Brock at York to Prevost at ——.

York, August, 4th 1812

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose a statement made by me yesterday to His Majesty's Executive Council which will fully apprize Your Excellency of my situation. The Council adjourned for deliberation, and I have no doubt will recommend the prorogation of the Assembly, and proclamation declaring Martial Law, but doubts occurred in contemplation of such an event, which I take the liberty to submit to your Excellency, and request the aid of your experience and superior judgment—

1st. In the event of declaring Martial Law can I without the Sign Mantual Approve and Carry into effect the Sentence of a General Court Martial.

2d. Can I put upon a General Court Martial, after Martial Law is proclaimed, any Person not a Commissioned Officer in His Majesty's regular forces—in other words, can Militia Officers sit in conjunction with those of the line ?—

Your Excellency, I feel confident, will readily excuse the direct manner with which I presume to put my queries—Should Militia Officers be debarred sitting, the declaration of Martial Law will be a perfect nullity—There is now a want of a sufficient number of Officers at any one place in this widely extended Province to compose a Court Martial and unless Militia Officers be admitted as members, the Law cannot operate—

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and
Faithful Servant
Isaac Brock M. G.

Archives, C. 677, p. 8.

From Colonel John Vincent at Montreal to Baynes at Quebec.

Montreal 4th August 1812

Dear Colonel

I am at a loss, whether or not I should detain the enclosed dispatches until your arrival, but a Mr. N. Coffin assures me, you will not leave Quebec before Wednesday. I think it for the best to forward all the letters I have in one Parcel and send them in the way bag of the Courrier, with directions that he must not pass you on the road. Major General Sheaffe arrived last night and proposes seting off for the upper country tomorrow—From the correspondence I have had with the Officers of Militia from Cornwall to Prescott—I can assure him every protection—

Last night a light Canoe arrived from Lake Superior with some gentlemen of the north west company—who have brought the account of the taking of the Fort of Michilimackinac and the inclosed dispatches for you from Captain Roberts—They likewise report that Governor Hull has twice been repulsed in attempting to pass the Canard bridge about six miles from Amhersburg. I hope therefore we shall soon have a good account of him. I remain, dear Colonel, Your obliged humble Servant, John Vincent.

Archives, C. 677, p. 10.

From Glegg to Baynes.

York Wed: night, 5th Augst. 9 o'clock.

Dear Sir,

Despatches from Amherstburg to the 30th Ultº inclusive having reached this Post just as the General was preparing to prorogue the Houses of Assembly, the duty of enclosing

copies of the most important documents for the information of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has again devolved on me, during his unavoidable absence and occupation with the necessary arrangements to be adopted during the present crisis—The accompanying communications speak so fully respecting the actual state of our operations and resources near the scene of warfare that I shall refrain from intruding any remarks that private information has furnished—The General gave his assent this afternoon to a few Bills (none of them of any particular importance) and immediately prorogued the Assemblies until the 10th of Sepbr—Their conduct in the past augured, very little for the future, and the absence of a *few* of the members from their respective Districts, was of too much importance to be prolonged under circumstances where so little real public advantage could be expected—The General will embark in a merchant vessel in one hour for the head of the Lake where it is probable he will arrive early tomorrow morning, and as arrangements are already made, it is probable he will reach Long Point to-morrow evening—It is probable a force will be found there, amounting to three hundred *picked* volunteers and 60 of the 41st with one 6 pndr. detached from the Car Brigade.

With this force it is highly probable every effort will be immediately made, to reinforce our friends at Amherstburg, and I am happy in being able to add that a great proportion of boats are now in readiness to carry that measure into execution. I cannot refrain from intruding an assurance that the General's presence at Long Point and elsewhere at the Head of the Army will have the very best effect, and such is his popularity amongst the best *classes* of our population, that I feel confident in saying, that provided Genl. Hull has not overwhelmed our small, but gallant force at Amherstburg before the arrival of this Reinforcement, our united troops will give a good account of his army. On

arriving at Long Point I shall again do myself the honor of reporting, provided the General is occupied with other duties.

I have the honor to be
Dear Sir
Your obedient
Humble Servant
J B Glegg Capt^{n}
A D C.

P.S. Your liberality will make every allowance for my numerous inaccuracies, as I have not time to write a fair or correct copy.

Archives, C. 676, p. 242.

Enclosure. From Colonel Henry Procter to Brock.

Copy

Amherstburg July 26th 1812

Dear Sir

After much vexatious delay from very windy weather &c^{a} I arrived here at day break this morning. You received by the Hunter a correct statement of the Enemy's force and have since been informed that he crossed the River on the 12th instant and took post above Sandwich—On the evening of the 16th he attacked a Picquet; and I regret to say, cut off two Sentries of the 41st Regiment, who were on the other side the Bridge on the River Canard, and killed one & wounded the other, both refusing to surrender. There has been Skirmishing two or three times on the Canard which is about five miles from here, in which the Enemy have lost men—On the 25th they advanced to a Fork of the River were attacked by the Indians and retreated with the loss of some killed; the Indians having one killed and another wounded. I send you a Return of the Strength of the Garrison of Amherstburg by which you will perceive how much the Militia have diminished—It is said, and I hope many of them will return when they have gotten in their harvest, but neither the Militia nor the Indians who are very deficient of the number you would suppose will ever remain with us if a considerable reinforce-

ment does not arrive here. Five hundred of the 41st would I am confident, soon decide matters—The Enemy's Arts and Misrepresentations have operated strongly on both the Indians and People of this country, among whom their agents now appear. You have received Mr. Hull's infamous Proclamation, and I herewith send you a copy of what I conceive to be very interesting Letters from him, intercepted and which I regret were not sent sooner. The originals shall be sent by the Lady Prevost. I do not apprehend that this Post is in any immediate Danger, but I am fully convinced of the necessity of a Reinforcement. I conceive it only prudent to keep the Queen Charlotte here, she is a very considerable check on the Enemy. I inclose a Return of Prisoners and request to know whether they are to be sent down. You will be surprized to know that the greatest number of Indians, among whom were several Boys, that the utmost exertion of the Indian Department could collect did not exceed Two hundred and thirty—this was on the 18th instant and they have rather decreased since—

In haste I remain
Dear Sir,
With respect
faithfully yours
Henry Procter
Colonel Comg.

P.S. The Return is inclosed to the Brigade Major.

Archives, C. 676, p. 245.

Enclosure. From Procter to Brock.

Copy/ Amherstburg July 30th 1812

Dear Sir,

The morning after my arrival I sent off Express to You the trusty Canadian by whom You had received Lieutenant Colonel St. George's Letter of the 11th inst. and on the evening of the 28th I had the disappointment of his return back, having narrowly escaped the Enemy near Point Aux Pins.—His Majesty's Schooner Lady Prevost sails this morning,

as does also the Schooner Nancy, that these may be at Fort Erie, [as] Conveyance for an effectual Reinforcement, which from the Confidence it must inspire, would cause the return of many who have left the Militia, and also ensure a powerful Aid from the Indians of whom the Enemy are much in dread.—It would be imprudent to send away the Queen Charlotte, especially as the Adams is I understand nearly ready.—M^{r}. Hull I believe awaits the defection of the Militia and Indians, and which I am confident will occur if we do not soon receive a reinforcement.—The Enemy expects a Reinforcement, which, if received after we are enabled to Act, may be of less importance to him.—I am sorry to observe that the Individuals of the Indian Department are too Old for Actual Service, nor does ability or Cordiality appear in the performance of its duties.—I have been under the necessity of Sanctioning the appointment of some active Interpreters.—With respect to the Militia Officers, I feel myself at a loss how to act; they are in number out of all proportion to the Strength of their Corps, and in general unequal to the performance of their Duties—If they should be retained in proportion to the strength only of their Corps, most of them would be driven, having no Support, to seek their property where the Enemy are, and their Corps, to which I still hope to see many return, would be disbanded.—I hope soon to hear of the Completion of the Arrangement for the payment of the Militia.—I found no sources ascertained for procuring certain information respecting the Enemy, and which I might reasonably have expected, where it must have been so easily effected, if attended to in time, by residents in the interest of Government—

I have the honor &c

(signed) Henry Procter
Colonel

P.S. I have conceived it expedient to send by this Opportunity the four Officers who were detained Prisoners of War, on the 2nd instant.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 233.

Adjutant's General's Office
Quebec 6th August 1812—

General Orders/

. . . . . .

The Commander of the Forces takes great pleasure in also announcing to the Troops, that the Enemy under Brigr. Genl. Hull have been repulsed in three Attacks made on the 18th, 19th & 20th of last month, upon part of the Garrison of Amherstburg, upon the River Canard, in the neighbourhood of that place, & in which Attacks His Majesty's 41st Regt. have particularly distinguished themselves. In justice to that Corps, His Excellency wishes particularly to call the attention of the Troops to the heroism & self devotion displayed by two Privates, who being left Centinels when the Party to which they belonged had retired, continued to maintain their station, against the whole of the Enemy's force, untill they both fell, when one of them, whose Arm had been broken, again raising himself, opposed with his bayonet those advancing against him, until he was overwhelmed by numbers: An Instance of such firmness and intrepidity, deserves to be thus publickly recorded, and His Excellency trusts that it will not fail to animate the Troops under his Command, with an ardent desire to follow so noble an example, whenever an opportunity shall be hereafter afforded them.—

(Signed) Rt. McDouall,
Assist. Adjt. General.

Archives, C. 688B, p. 9.

From Archibald McMillen to Andrew Westbrook.

Friday 28th Augt—1812

Dr friend,

I understand there are some of the Guards in Delaware who are Determined to take me if possible in order to get the

letter I have for you from your friend in Sandwich therefore I dare not be seen I wish you to meet me at the mouth of Allens Cove at nine Oclock tomorrow morning I got a friend to slip this in the hand of the express for fear he should see me—as it will be much in your favour to Receeve those letters of advice from your friend before you are taken—I have hopes you will Not fail to Meet me at the time & place appointed.

Arch'd M^{c}Millen.

[*Addressed*]
M^{r}. Andrew Wesbrook
Woods

Archives, C. 688B, p. 13.

Deposition of Charles Nichols.

Upper Canada, } Personally appeared before me Daniel
London district.} Springer Esquire one of his Majestys Justices of the peace in and for the Said district, Charles Nicholes who maketh oath and Saith, that he Saw Andrew Westbrook at detroit before it was given up, and heared the Said Andrew Westbrook Say, that he wished that the americans had taken the whole province of Upper Canada at the time they Crossed the detroit river and this deponent further Saith that it was generally reported in Detroit that the Said Andrew Westbrook applied to General Hull for permission to Come up the river thames with a detachment of men to assist in takin the province of Upper Canada, and Saith that he heared the Said Andrew Westbrook Say that he had Volunteered in Detroit Militia in order to go down the river on an expedition.

Charles Nichols.

Sworn before me the 29th Day
of August, 1812—
Daniel Springer.

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP II (*continued*)

BROCK, 1812

2. The West: Michillimackinac, July 17, 1812

Archives, C. 256, p. 229.

From Glegg to Baynes.

York 11th Novbr. 1812

My Dear Sir,

At the request of Mr. Robert Dickson the bearer of this letter who intends proceeding immediately to Montreal on his private affairs, I take the liberty of giving him an introduction to you, in order that previous to his being presented to His Excellency, some interesting particulars may be made known through your obliging communication.

Mr. Dickson is closely connected with the most respectable families in this Province, who have invariably shewn themselves sincere and zealous friends to His Majesty's Government.

The Gentleman in question, has resided for a number of years in the character of a mercantile Trader in the Western Territory, and owing to his influence and assistance with the powerful Tribes of Indians some important services have been performed for the British cause—His influential Interest with the Western Indians has been repeatedly acknowledged by this Government, and his efforts in having decided that much injured race of Aborigines, to abstain from hostilities

with the United States, have been well known here and duly acknowledged—During the month of Feb^{y} 1812, existing circumstances made it highly necessary to ascertain the sentiments and intentions of the Western Indians—Promises of their continued forbearance had been constantly made thro' the Agents of the Indian Department, but it was much apprehended by my vigilant and ever to be lamented friend [Brock], that the attack made by General Harrison's army upon the Shawnese Indians assembled under the Prophet on the Wabash on the 7th Nov^{br} 1811 [Battle of Tippecanoe] might possibly produce some spirit of retaliation—It now became an object of considerable importance to open a communication without loss of time, with the neighbouring Indians bordering on the Misisipi.

No doubt could be then entertained of the premeditated destruction of the Indians by the Americans, and that merely because they had *presumed* to continue to establish themselves in the peaceful occupations of their native woods and villages—The most prompt measures were immediately adopted by the head of this Government, in conformity with the repeated Instructions of His Excellency and those of His Predecessor Sir James Craig, to prevent, by every possible exertion, the threatening flame from reaching our Frontier.

M^{r}. Dickson's influence with the Indians being well known, the advantage of immediately opening a communication with him became obvious, and the accompanying paper number 1 was despatched to him early in february last by two confidential Indians—M^{r}. Dickson was then at the Portage called Ouisconsin which is about one hundred and eighty miles from the Misisipi and the same distance from La Baie, about 800 miles from Amherstburg—He was then employed in administering in his mercantile capacity, to the severe distresses of their women and children who were literally languishing for want of food & clothing, owing to our

supplies having been *discontinued* and to the severity of the season.

Mr. Dickson received the enclosed paper No. 1 early in May and immediately replied to it No. 2—Previous to this date Mr. Dickson had observed an unusual degree of activity in the American Agents who were then residing amongst the Indians, and having ascertained that presents were daily distributed by these people, which by the bye was a novel circumstance, he made immediate inquiry, and was informed by some of the Principal Chiefs, that the American Agents, had been directed by their Government, to invite some of their leading warriors from each nation, to pay an early visit to Washington—A combination of various circumstances left no doubt in the mind of Mr. Dickson, that all this was intended as a prelude to more important events—His first endeavour was to dissuade the Chiefs from listening to the invitation of the American Government, and to point out the imminent danger of the proposed alliance—Mr. Dickson fully succeeded in every object, and he received the strongest assurance of friendship and support in the cause of their Father the British Monarch, whenever circumstances should render their assistance necessary—Soon after this communication passed, intelligence, reached the Wabash Indians, that General Hull with an army of two thousand men was on his march to Detroit—The Shawnese and other nations voluntarily offered to attack him on his route, but were still induced to desist from it, by the repeated entreaties of the friends and Agents of the British Government.

It is however a well known fact, that General Hull's movements were all closely watched by Tecumpthsey's confidential Scouts, who were considered and received by the American General, as friends attached to their Interest —At the capture of Michilimackinac, Mr. Dickson took an active part, and his services on that occasion, have been honorably recorded by Captain Roberts—After the surrender

of that Post, an Expedition was immediately formed (at the solicitation of Major General Brock) by the Gentlemen of the Northwest and Southwest companies then assembled at Michilimackinac, to cooperate with the Force then contemplated to be employed against Detroit—So imperious however, was the necessity for despatch, in carrying this operation into execution, that the expedition under Major General Brock reached its destination and succeeded in its object, before the Indians intended for assistance, could form a junction with our little army—The intelligence of their approach had however reached the Enemy, and I have particular reason for knowing, that this circumstance produced very considerable influence in the final negotiation.

In justice to the memory of our lamented friend Major General Brock, and in obedience to what I am confident, would have been his intentions, I have taken the liberty of troubling you with this confidential communication, which you will be pleased to make use of, as your superior Judgement and discretion may point out—I am not aware of M^r. Dickson's immediate views in soliciting an interview with His Excellency, but I have a perfect knowledge that there is no Gentleman in this Province more capable than himself of giving accurate information respecting the Western Indians than himself, and I am authorized in saying, that had General Brock survived the late contest, he intended pointing out M^r. Dickson to the notice of His Majesty's Government, as a Gentleman who by his zealous and faithful services has proved himself deserving of their special protection.

I remain My Dear Sir
With much esteem
very faithfully yours
J. B. Glegg,
Cap^tn 49^th Reg^t

Archives, C. 256, p. 209.

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] No. 1. CONFIDENTIAL COMMUNICATION TRANSMITTED TO MR. ROBERT DICKSON RESIDING WITH THE INDIANS NEAR THE MISISOURI.

Memo. Sent off from York 27th Febv. and recd. by Mr. D. early in June 1812.—J. B. G.

27th Febv. 1812

Copy.

Sir,

As it is probable that war may result from the present *state of affairs*, it is very desirable to ascertain the degree of cooperation that you and *your friends* might be able to furnish, in case of such an Emergency taking place. You will be pleased to report with all practicable expedition upon the following matters.

1st. The number of your friends, that might be depended upon.

2. Their disposition towards us.

3. Would they assemble, and march under your orders.

4. State the succours you require, and the most eligible mode, for their conveyance.

5. Can *Equipments* be procured in *your Country*.

6. An immediate direct communication with you, is very much wished for.

7 Can you point out in what manner, that object may be accomplished.

8. Send without loss of time a few *faithful* and very *confidential* Agents—Selected from *your friends*.

9 Will you individually approach the Detroit frontier next Spring.

If so, state the time and place, where *we* may meet.

Memo. Avoid mentioning names, in your *written communications*.

I owe you acknowledgements for *two letters*.

Recollect to whom you promised, to procure, *Shrubs* and *small trees*.

Archives, C. 256, p. 211.

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] No. 2. CONFIDENTIAL COMMUNICATION TRANSMITTED BY MR. ROBERT DICKSON RESIDING WITH THE INDIANS NEAR THE MISISOURI. RECEIVED AT FORT GEORGE, 14TH JULY.

Queries contained in paper N°. 1 answered— June 18th 1812.

N°. 1. Answer. The numbers of my friends would have been more, but the unparalled scarcity of provisions of all sorts, has reduced them to 250 or 300 of all sorts of different languages.

2. Answer. All of the same disposition as the accompanying note will shew.

3. All ready to march when required under a proper person commissioned for that purpose.

4. An Express to be sent to St: Josephs on receipt of this, with Instructions either by Indians or a vessel. Provisions and all sort of proper goods required.

Flags, 1 doz. large medals with gorgets and a few small ones.

5. Equipments if timely notice is given, can be procured in the Country.

6. The Bearer of this will inform you of these and other matters.

7 As the Article above—N°. 6.

8. Your wishes are complied with on this head—79 of their friends are left where this comes from.

9. St: Josephs will be the General Rendezvous, and all our friends shall be there about the 30th instant.

N.B.—An Expedition across to the Misisippi would be of great service and could be accomplished without much risk or difficulty—In the Event of hostilities more full communication will shortly take place—

Speeches of Indian Chiefs assembled in Council.

Wābĭshă or La feuille
1st Chief Scioux.

With a pipe and Sac.

"We live by our English Traders who have always assisted us, and never more so, than this last year, at the risk of their lives, and we are at all times ready to listen to them on account of the friendship they have always shewn us. From the last Band of our Nation to the West, we hold each other's hands, we have some [come ?] here this year fortunately, because we have this day met the words of our English Father, they are such, as we would wish and expect, at all times we are ready to follow his advice, and now more so than ever. We have always found our English Father the protector of our women and children, but we have for some time past, been amused by the songs of bad Birds from the lower part of the River—they were not the songs of truth, and this day we rejoice in again hearing the voice of our English Father, who never deceived us, and we are certain never will.

Chātĕhwāmmănĭ Petit Corbeau
2d Chief

Pipe and Sac.

My friend who has just spoke has uttered the truth. The voice I have just heard from our English Father is as if one was raised from the dead and restored to his friends.—

From our Ancestors we have learned the generous conduct of the English to all nations, the evil voice of bad Birds has for some time past interrupted our communication with those we love—We are now fully convinced of the falsity of their dealing, altho' unacquainted with the arts of white people, we know the truth of Englishmen and as a proof of it this day we take up the pipes of our deceased friends to be a testimony to the truth of our words.

Jengāmāmānĭ or Courreur
3[d] Chief

Pipe and Sac—

How can we Savages be instructed without listening to the voice of those who have never deceived us. We remember the words of our Ancestors, we were then accustomed to live more at our ease, than we have done for some time past, but we have been deceived by Liars—we rejoice to-day at being again on the road to the chief who has conferred so many benefits on our Nations, we abandon forever any connection with the Liars, who have uniformly deceived us, and we throw ourselves for protection and advice, which we shall always listen to, of the brave and generous English nation—

Archives, C. 257, p. 39.

Statement of Robert Dickson.

Having obtain'd a supply of Merchandize at Saint Josephs from the Montreal Merchants, I left that place in the latter end of August 1811, and notwithstanding the impediments thrown in my way by the American Government I was fortunate enough to reach the Country where I usually carried on my trade.

During the Winter I found the Agents of the American Government using every means in their power to influence the Indians in their behalf, by making them unusual presents of goods and inciting them in the most pressing manner to visit the President of the United States at Washington, where, it was held out to them, they would hear something of the utmost importance.

From these circumstances I was induced to believe that something hostile was meditated against Our Government, and being the only individual in that Country possess'd of the means of frustrating their intentions I took such steps as I trust will be approv'd of by His Excellency the Commander in Chief.

The Calamitous state of the Indian tribes at that time was peculiarly distressing, the crops of those who cultivate the Ground having fail'd, from the great drought of the preceding Summer; and owing to the same cause those who subsisted entirely by the Chace were deprived of provisions, the large Animals having gone Northward in quest of food.

I left the River Missisippie on my return to S^{t}. Josephs with a number of Indians after having supplied their families with amunition and provisions at a great expence; I was met at the portage of the Ouisconsing by Two Courriers from Amherstburg with a communication from General Brock, in consequence of which I sent a party of *Indians* from La Baye to Amherstburg where they remain'd during the Summer and were in every engagement with the Enemy.

I forbear entering into any detail respecting the Indians who accompanied me, as I presume that their conduct has already been made known to His Excellency the Commander in Chief.

A Statement of Expences incurr'd for the above purposes is here subjoin'd.—

1812.		
July 20.	To amount of Robert Dickson & C^{os}. account of sundries furnished the Scioux, Follesavoine & Winibigo Indians p. account herewith N^{o}. 1 .	20973″ 0
	To paid Fran^{s}. Bouthellier for sundries at Prairie du Chênes for d^{o}. p. acco^{t}. N^{o}. 2 $995″ 0 .	5970″ 0
	To paid Pierre Grignon for Funds for d^{o}. p. acco^{t}. N^{o}. 3	624″ 0
	To Cash p^{d}. Louis Grignon for an Ox for d^{o}. .	300″ 0
	To Cash p^{d}. Dl. Mitchell for provisions for d^{o}. .	876″ 0
	To Cash p^{d}. Paul Ducharme for an Ox for d^{o}. .	300″ 0
	To amo^{t}. of Jacob Franks account of sundries for said Indians p. account N^{o}. 4 . . .	12130″ 18
	To Cash p^{d}. Lewis Crawford for provisions for said Indians at S^{t}. Joseph p. voucher N^{o}. 5 .	350″ 0
	To Robert Dickson & C^{o}. disbursements for Said Indians at Michilimackinac p. account N^{o}. 6 .	3483″ 0
	Livres .	45,006″ 18
[Halifax Currency, £1 = $4]	Hx Cy: .	£1875″ 5″ 9

Montreal December 3^{d} 1812
R. Dickson

Archives, C. 688A, p. 65.

From Baynes at Quebec to Captain Charles Roberts at St. Joseph's.

Adjut Generals Office
Quebec 25th June 1812.

Sir

I am commanded to acquaint you that by an Express received by the North West Company, the Commander of the Forces has received intelligence that the American Government has declared War against Great Britain. His Excellency therefore avails himself of the opportunity offered by the dispatch of Canoes to St. Josephs to write you this intelligence and to direct you to observe the greatest vigilance and Caution for the Protection of the Post and for the ultimate security of the Party Committed to your Charge.

The Gentlemen of the North West Co. has assured the Commdr. of the Forces of their Cordial and active Cooperation in aiding the exertions of His Majestys Government by every means in their Power and I am Commanded to inform you that it is His Excellency's most express Orders that you will to the utmost of your ability afford every assistance and Protection Possible to Promote the Interest and Security of the North West Company, Consistant with a due regard to the Security of the Post and in Case of Necessity the ultimate retreat of your Party.

Mr. McKay the bearer of this is a Proprietor of the North West Company.

I have the Honor to be Sir
your most Obdt hble Servt.
(Sd) Edwd Baynes,
Adjt Genl N.A.

Archives, C. 256, p. 215.

[Endorsement] Capt. Roberts to Mr. Dickson 10th July 1812.

Fort St. Josephs 10 July 1812

Sir/

Having volunteered your services with the Indians you have brought along with you I have to request you will comply with such orders as you may receive from me from time to time.

I have the Honor to be
Sir Your most Obedt. Servt.
Charles Roberts
Captain Commanding

Archives, C. 676, p. 156.

From Roberts to Brock.

Copy/ Fort St Joseph's
12th July 1812

Sir,

I had the honor to receive Your Orders of the 26 and 27th of June, on the 8th inst.—the best disposition my resources afforded were instantly made with the view to an immediate attack upon the Fort of Michilimackinac, when the Second Express with Your Orders of the 28 and 29 in duplicate to Suspend hostilities, arrived—which also seeming to preclude the necessity of the Express to Amherstburgh it consequently has not been forwarded—Every exertion will be made use of to put the force I have here in such a state of preparation so as to be able to act as Your Orders may direct or occasion may require.

To Mr. Pothier, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Crawford, and the Gentleman at the Sault of St. Mary's, I am under the

greatest obligations for their ready and effectual aid and personal exertions voluntarily contributed—Mr. Pothier has thrown open his Store houses to Supply my requisitions in the handsomest manner.

Mr. Dickson with a chosen Band of Warriors of upwards of a hundred men in whom he appears to have the greatest confidence has greatly assisted me with his advice—much may be looked for from him and his party in the event of an Attack upon the American Fort—

Mr. Crawford, at the head of 140 Canadian Volunteers, contributes every thing in his power to accelerate the general Interest—assurances are also held out to me of ample reinforcements in Men, Arms and provisions being Speedily Sent down from the N. W. Company's Post at Fort William.

I have this morning held a Council with most of the principal Chiefs of the Outawas—It has been a Subject of much Speculation how these people would act—on this occasion it gives me pleasure to inform You that after a long and private Consultation amongst themselves, in Consequence of my Communicating to them the state of affairs, they at last decided unanimously in our favor and are just going off for their Arms, and the remainder of their Men.

I took measures for Securing the Caladonia in her way down from the Sault—She is now here and may be of essential Service.—I have enclosed a Memorandum of Articles received from the South West Company's Stores for Your information.

The Express has been detained partly at the request of Mr. Pothier as well as to give You the Sentiments of the Outawas—

No reinforcements had arrived at Mackinack when these people passed that place Yesterday.

I have the honor to be &c

(signed) Charles Roberts

Captain 10th V— B—

Archives, C. 256, p. 187.

From Robert Dickson to Brock.

Copy/

Sir,

I take the liberty of addressing Your Honor on the Subject of the Indian Nations to the West, a number of whose Chiefs and Warriors have accompanied me to this place in order to Co-operate with His Majesty's Forces wherever their Services may be wanted—The situation of those Nations last Winter has, from their usual supplies being withheld, been truly deplorable—there is but little hope at present of goods being this Season carried into their Country, and unless they receive strong support in Ammunition & Cloathing from His Majesty, they must infallibly perish.

I had intended at this moment to have paid Your Honor a visit, in order to have had the satisfaction of representing to You the state of the Country, and several other interesting Subjects in the present crisis; but I have deferred this that I may be ready for the attack of Michilimackinac, so earnestly wished for, as the means of Securing the Communication to the Mississippi and retaining and Supporting all the Indian Tribes in their present happy disposition so favorable to the interest of Britain—

From Captain Roberts I have received every mark of attention that politeness could dictate, or that the good of the Service can require—The Indians are much gratified with his comportment towards them, and in him they repose the highest Confidence—

I some time since despatched from Green Bay, thirty Indians to Amherstburg—had I received earlier information, I would have with ease brought an addition of Four or Five hundred to those now here.—

We wait anxiously for Your Orders, on which the fate of this Country depends.

I am
Sir,
&c
(signed) R. Dickson.

S^{t}. Joseph's July 13th 1812

Archives, C. 676, p. 183.

From Roberts to Baynes.

Fort Michilimackinac
17 July 1812

Sir,

On the 15th instant I received Letters by Express from Major General Brock with orders to adopt the most prudent measures either of offence or defence which circumstances might point out, and having received intelligence from the best information that large reinforcements were daily expected to be thrown into this Garrison, and finding that the Indians who had been collected would soon have abandoned me if I had not made the attempt, with the thorough conviction that my situation at S^{t}. Josephs was totally indefensible, I determined to lose no time in making the meditated attack on this Fort

On the sixteenth at Ten Oclock in the morning I embarked my few men with about one hundred and eighty Canadian Engagees half of them without Arms about three hundred Indians, and two Iron six pounders, the boats arrived without the smallest accident at the place of Rendevouz at three oClock the following moring—by the exertions of the Canadians one of the Guns was brought up to a height commanding the Garrison and ready to act about Ten Oclock, a

summons was then sent in a Copy of which as well of, the Capitulation which followed, I have the Honor to enclose at twelve the American Colours were hauled down and those of His Majesty's were hoisted—A Committee has been appointed to examine into the State of the Public Stores Inclosed also are Returns of the Ordnance and military Stores found in the Fort, and the Strength of the Garrison. The greatest praize is due to every Individual employed in this Expedition to my own Officers I am indebted in particular for their active assistance in carrying all my orders into effect.

The Indians are flocking in from all Quarters but in a few weeks I shall be left in great measure to my own resources, and I trust His Excellency the Governor General will see the necessity of adding to my force,

I have the Honor to be Sir
Your most Obedient Serv^{t}
Charles Roberts
Captain Commanding

Archives, C. 676, p. 232.

From Roberts to Brock.

Copy/ Fort of Michilimackinac
17 July 1812.

Sir,

I had the honor to receive Your letter dated the 4th of July, on the 15th inst. and foreseeing that I should soon be abandoned by the Indians whose minds had been prepared for hostilities, if I did not immediately employ them, and also that the moment so favorable for making an attack upon this place so highly important at the present Crisis might soon be lost—I embarked on the morning of the 16th with Two of

the Six pounders and every Man I could muster, and at Ten o'clock the Signal being made we were immediately under weigh.

By the almost unparralleled exertions of the Canadians who manned the Boats, we arrived at the place of Rendezvous at 3 o'clock the following morning.

One of these unwieldy Guns was brought up with much difficulty to the Heights above the Fort and in readiness to open about Ten o'clock at which time a Summons was sent in and the Capitulation, a Copy of which I have the honor to enclose, was soon after agreed upon.—I took immediate possession of the Fort, and displayed the British Colours.—It is a circumstance I believe without precedent, and demands the greatest praise for all those who conducted the Indians, that although these people's minds were much heated, Yet as soon as they heard the Capitulation was signed they all returned to their Canoes, and not one drop either of Man's or Animal's Blood was Spilt, till I gave an Order for a certain number of Bullocks to be purchased for them—I have not Yet been able to obtain returns of the Stores here—they shall be forwarded by the earliest opportunity—

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my warmest thanks to my own Officers—to the Gentlemen of S^{t}. Joseph's and S^{t}. Mary's, and to every individual engaged in this Service.

I trust, Sir, in thus acting I have not exceeded Your Instructions, for be assured that prudential measures of the first necessity demanded the Step which has put me in possession of this Island.

I have the honor to be &^{c}
(signed) Charles Roberts
Captain 10th V.B.

a true Copy
Isaac Brock
M. Gen^{l}.

Archives, C. 676, p. 234.

Enclosure.

Heights above Michilimackinac.

Copy/ 17 July 1812

CAPITULATION agreed upon between Captain Charles Roberts, Commanding His Britannic Majesty's Forces on the one part, and Lieutenant Hankes Commanding the Troops of the United States of America on the other—

First—The Fort of Michilimackinac shall immediately be surrendered to the British Force—Granted—

Second—The Garrison shall march out with the Honors of War, lay down their Arms and become Prisoners of War, and shall be sent to the United States of America by His Britannic Majesty, not to serve in this War until regularly exchanged, and for the due performance of this Article the Officers pledge their Word and Honor—

Granted.

Third—All the Merchant Vessels in the Harbour with their Cargoes shall be in the possession of their respective owners.

Fourth—Private property shall be held sacred as far as it is in my power.

Fifth—All Citizens of the United States, who shall not take the Oath of allegiance to His Brittanic Majesty, shall depart with their property from the Island in One Month from the date hereof—

(Signed) Charles Roberts
Captain Commanding
His Brittanic Majesty's Forces—
(Signed) P. Hankes
Lieutenant Commanding the Forces of the United States—Fort Michilimackinac.

True Copy
Isaac Brock M. G[l].

Historical Register of United States, 1812–13; 2 ed., Philadelphia, 1814; Vol. II, p. 83.

*Supplement to the Articles of Capitulation Signed on the 17th July.**

The captains and crews of the vessels *Erie* and *Freegood-will* shall be included under the second article not to serve until regularly exchanged, for which the officers shall pledge their word and honour.

Fort Michilimackinac, 17th July 1812.

CHARLES ROBERTS,
Capt. commanding the Forces
of his Britannic majesty

Granted,
P. HANKS,
Lieut. commanding the United States' forces.

Archives, C. 676, p. 201.

From John Askin, Jr., to Claus.

Copy

Michilimackinac 18th July 1812

Dear Sir,

I am happy to have it in my power to announce to You that Fort Michilimackinac Capitulated to us on the 17th inst. at 11 o'clock A.M.—Captn. Roberts at our head with a part of the 10th R. V. Battalion. Mr. Crawford had the Command of the Canadians which Consisted of about 200 men. Mr. Dixon 113 Sieux, Foollavoines & Waynebegoes—myself about 280 men.—Ottawas & Chippawas—part of the Ottawas of L'harbe Croche had not arrived.—It was a fortunate circumstance that the Fort Capitulated without

* The supplementary article, as given in *Report of the Trial of General Hull*, App. II., p. 23, bears the date July 23, 1812.

firing a Single Gun, for had they done so, I firmly believe not a Soul of them would have been Saved.—My Son, Charles Langlade, Augustine Nolin, & Michelle Cadotte Junr. have rendered me great Services in keeping the Indians in order, & executing from time to time such Commands as were delivered to me by the Commanding Officer.—I never saw so determined a Set of people as the Chippawas & Ottawas were.

Since the Capitulation they have not drunk a single drop of Liquor, nor even killed a fowl belonging to any person (a thing never known before) for they generally destroy every thing they meet with.

I have the honor &c
(signed) Jn° Askin Junir
Str Kr I. D.

Report of the Trial of General Hull; New York, 1814; App. I, p. 47.

From Mr. Mackenzie at Fort William to Mr. Duncan Mackintosh at Sandwich—dated July 19th. (*Extract.*)

"The declaration of war reached us on the 16th instant, but we are neither astonished or alarmed. Our agents ordered a general muster, which amounted to 1200, exclusive of several hundred of the natives. We are now equal in all to 1600 or 1700 strong. One of our gentlemen started on the 17th with several light canoes, for the interior country, to rouse the natives to activity, which is not hard to do, on the present occasion. We likewise despatched messengers in all directions with the news. I have not the least doubt but our force will, in ten days hence, amount to at least five thousand effective men. Our young gentlemen and engagees offered most handsomely to march immediately for Michilimackinac. Our chief Mr. Shaw expressed his gratitude, and drafted one hundred—They are to proceed this evening for

St. Joseph's. He takes about as many Indians :—could the vessel contain them, he might have had four thousand more. It now depends on what accounts we receive from St. Joseph's, whether these numerous tribes from the interior will proceed to St. Joseph's or not."

Archives, C. 688A, p. 154.

From Roberts at Michilimackinac to Glegg at ——.

Fort Michilimackinac
29th July 1812.

Sir,

Although I am persuaded that the General's letter of the 4th of July leaves me at liberty to act in a great degree at discretion, yet it will be very satisfactory to learn that what has been done here I may not be thought to have acted prematurely—The Prisoners of War and the American Citizens sailed from hence on the 26th inst—one of the vessels which surrendered under the capitulation has been employed as a Cartel for this purpose.—I have taken every precaution in my power for their safety, an Interpreter and three Indians well acquainted with the River St: Clair tribe, have been sent with them. Hugh Kelly deserter from the 49th Regiment, Alexander Parks from the Royal Artillery and Redman Magrath from the 5th were amongst the number that laid down their Arms, the two last I have employed being an excellent drum and fife, but they are all under confinement until the General's decision relative to them shall be known. Eighteen Canadians have taken the oath of Allegiance and after much solicitation, volunteered to serve for a limited period, these with two old men discharged from the late Canadian Volunteers, formed a part of the American Garrison here.

Having no power to enlist, I have only taken them for

the moment to strengthen me, but I find them so extremely awkard and ill inclined that I almost repent of accepting of their services—Two small sloops on their way from the American Post at Chicago chiefly laden with furs have fallen into our hands, several letters sent by them have been intercepted, some of which I send you, that the state of that Garrison may be known, they are in general of little importance.

The conduct of the Ottawas has been marked with suspicion throughout the whole of this business, the Bearer of these despatches was the person I sent from S^{t}. Josephs with orders for them to join us immediately, they did not arrive until several days after the surrender, and it is now evident they were encamped all this time at no great distance, waiting to hear the result of our attack.

Time I hope will inspire these people with more confidence, this lukewarm behaviour in them is the more to be regretted as they must be considered our principal support.

If I can accomplish my design of bringing over all the Chippewas from the neighbourhood of St: Josephs and settling them near this place, it will render us independant of these Ottawas, in whom I shall never have any reliance—I am now employed in organizing the Indians, one hundred, chiefly Riflemen are stationed at the Loopholes—a strong Guard is immediately to be sent to Bois blanc Island either to cut off if possible, or give timely notice of the approach of an Enemy—The remainder will be disposed of, as circumstances may require, my own men will be barely sufficient for manning the Guns in the Blockhouses, however you may rest assured, that every nerve shall be strained for the defence of this Post—There has been an immense consumption of provisions for some time past, but I am now getting rid of the supernumeraries as fast as possible.

If the Importance of this is viewed below, with the same

anxiety, which prevails here, I should hope a Reinforcement will be spared, and I must beg leave to observe that none but active Troops are fit to be employed here at this moment—The men I have here, tho' always ready to obey my orders are so debilitated and worn down by unconquerable drunkenness that neither the fear of punishment, the love of fame or the honor of their Country can animate them to extraordinary exertions, it is painful to me to be obliged to draw such a picture, but truth and justice demands it—The Establishment of Artillery should if possible be augmented to a Sergeant and nine—One Smith the bearer of despatches from Detroit was taken by the Express I sent to Amherstburg about fifteen leagues from hence, they have taken him and his papers to that place, I wish he may not prove too cunning, and either make his escape or perhaps carry my despatches to Detroit—A Committee has been appointed, who have taken Inventories of all Property in the public Stores, a large portion is claimed as belonging to our own Subjects, but as this is a point I am unable to decide upon it must be left for regular investigation—Copies of all these documents shall be forwarded as soon as possible—The Stores in what the Americans called their Factory have been given over to the Indian Department and will barely recompense the Indians I brought with me, if the goods for these people do not soon arrive, I fear there will be great murmuring—

An Officer has been left with six men at S^{t}. Josephs to take care of the buildings, and an acting Interpreter appointed for that Post—On examination by an Engineer Officer, I apprehend many parts of these works will be found to require repair, and I should beg leave strongly to recommend that at a Post so distant from all aid, a certain number of artificers should be attached—I enclose you a return of the American Garrison as it stood at the time of its surrender, and also a Return of the Ordnance and ammunition, the brass guns, and Howitzers were taken it appears at York Town, and

have an Inscription upon them, stating that fact—In the statement I have made above of the Indian force I have now employed, I must explain that altho' I can at this moment command double the number mentioned, yet such is the fluctuating disposition of these people that in a week hence, I might not be able to collect more than one hundred men.

The distant Indians who came with M^r^. Dickson, leave this tomorrow.

I am fully aware that there is a want of regularity and correctness in the style of this communication, which would be unpardonable at any other time, but the multiplicity and variety of matter which demands my constant attention will I trust be thought a sufficient excuse—As the situation I am now in, is entirely new to me and having to decide upon so many cases which occur almost daily, I shall feel greatly obliged to you if your time admits of it, for such information in matters of civil jurisdiction as the General may see necessary to put into immediate force—Report states the Americans to be in great force at Detroit. We have been so long without the arrival of a vessel or advice from that quarter that I am apprehensive our communications are obstructed—As the cargoes of the vessels from Chicago which were taken after the capitulation, and are I imagine of course legal prizes, are of a perishable nature, I shall be much obliged to you for advice how to act, so that this property may not be lost, I have appointed a prize Agent, but beyond this, I am totally in the dark as to what is next to be done.

I am Dear Sir
Yours most sincerely
(signed)
Charles Roberts
Capt^n^ 10^th^ R. V. Batt^n^ Comd^g^

*Mem^o^*.—A Return of provisions is herewith annexed

RETURN OF THE GARRISON OF FORT-MICHILIMACINAC.*

Two first-lieutenants, one surgeon's mate, three serjeants, four corporals, five musicians, six artificers, 39 privates, one private sick.—Total 61.

RETURN OF ORDNANCE TAKEN IN FORT-MICHILIMACINAC.

Two brass 5½ inch howitzers, two brass 6-pounders on garrison carriages, one brass 3-pounder on a garrison carriage, two iron 9-pounders on garrison carriages.

With a considerable proportion of ammunition and ordnance stores.

Alex^r. Pilmour, military conductor of stores.

Archives, C. 688A, p. 161.

Fort Michilimackinac 30^th July 1812

RETURN OF PROVISIONS IN STORE AND DELIVERED OVER AT THE SURRENDER OF THIS PLACE ON THE 17^TH INSTANT.

116	Barrels flour mark'd 224 lbs. per barrel.	
110	D°. ditto of different marks amounting to lbs. . .	22349
106	Ditto pork mark'd 250 lbs. each . . . Pounds 26500 Loose ditto weight . . . . . Ditto 280	26780
13½	Barrels of Vinegar.	
13½	ditto Salt.	
11	ditto high wines amounting to Gallons . . .	357
8	,, whiskey ditto to ditto . . .	253¼
9	Boxes Candles weighing lbs.	643½
30	Boxes and 4 Barrels Soap lbs.	6848

(Signed) J. Lambton En^n.
10^th R.V. Batt^n.
Acting Store keeper.

* Cf. *Archives*, C. 676, pp. 187, 189.

Archives, C. 1218, p. 365.

From Prevost to Liverpool.

N°. 65
O
D

Montreal 14th August 1812.

My Lord/

I have the honor to transmit herewith for your Lordships information, the copy of a Report which has been forwarded to me by Major General Brock of the surrender by Capitulation of the American Post of Michilimackinac to a Detachment of His Majesty's Troops from St. Josephs, under the command of Captain Roberts of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion ;

The Report is accompanied by a Return of Prisoners taken, and of the Stores which were found in the Fort ;

In addition to these I have a further report of the Crews of two Vessels amounting to the Number of 43, (who were in the Fort) having fallen into our hands together with 700 packs of Furs.

My Despatch N°. 59 will have acquainted your Lordship of a large Detachment from the American Army having taken possession of Sandwich on the 12th ultimo ;

Brigr. Genl. Hull I find, commenced his Operations against Amherstburg a few days after and the Detachment of the 41st Regt. have behaved with great gallantry, in repelling three attacks made by the Americans to approach the Fort, by the River Canard ; These successes with the diversion on the flank of the Enemy, by the possession of Michilimackinac on the 17th ulto' may be attended with Consequences favorable to the Security of Upper Canada.

I have &c &c
(signed) George Prevost
Commander of the Forces

Archives, C. 688A, p. 175.

From Roberts at Michillimackinac.

Michilimackinac 16 August 1812.

Dear Sir,

The Messenger I sent off to Colonel S^{t}. George on the capture of this place returned on the 3^{d} instant without effecting the purpose of his mission, you are already acquainted of their having taken prisoner a Man of the of Smith bound here with dispatches from General Hull he was permitted to escape but what is still worse a young Ottawa one of the Crew was the bearer of Wampum from a Chief called the Wing, in the River S^{t}. Clair to the Ottawas here telling them they had done wrong in assisting their English Father that the Americans were as numerous as the Sand and would exterminate them

The effect this had on the Indians in general was very perceptible but some of the principal Chiefs of the Ottawas who were here at the time held secret Councils, to which two Chippawas were invited.

I received information of their proceedings and it is most probable that the preparations they saw making led them to suspect their secret was discovered. They waited on me the following morning and requested leave to visit their Corn fields and their Families, it was not untill after their departure that I was acquainted with the particulars that passed in their Council by one of the Chippawa Chiefs that was present and who openly avows it as his opinion that these people are both Traitors and Cowards—it seems they had determined to let go my hand to go down to Detroit and implore forgiveness on their knees from the Americans for what they had done and to demand of me the restoration of this Fort to that Government these are the Inhabitants of a Village called Abacroshe [Arbre Croche] fifteen leagues from hence who for the last thirty years have been the acknowledged

favourites They parted from me with every *apparent* mark of satisfaction with promises to repair to me on the shortest notice. They are now sent for and we shall see what measures they intend to pursue. The weakness of my Garrison is a favourite topic of conversation amongst them and I must once more beg leave to repeat *that a strong and active force* is absolutely necessary here at this moment for the double purpose of defence against these treacherous Men and for encouraging them to come forward when called for which nothing but the shew of superiority on our part will I am confident effect.

Whilst we were yet celebrating the birth day of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent your Express arrived. The Indians were extremely anxious for the news. I called them together the next morning when amongst other things they were made acquainted with the threatning Anathema of the American Commander about 200 Men were all we could collect at the moment all offered their services to go to Amherstburgh and some of the Chiefs and young men shewed great zeal—It would appear from your Letters that the General must have imagined that all the Indians brought here by M^{r}. Dickson as well those that had been collected for the expedition against this place were still here. The dreadfull consumption of Provisions caused by these people who flocked in from all Quarters with their Wives and Children obliged me to send them off as fast as possible and the distant Indians were no sooner served with presents than they were warned to return to their Country and nothing less than an immediate object of employment where great recompence was to be expected could I think have detained them.

Thirty Men of the Sioux Nation are all that remain of those that came with M^{r}. D. I have urged him repeatedly to take them down but the necessity of their going to rouze their Countrymen and to afford relief to their starving Families is always pleaded in excuse. they have this day received

presents to an enormous amount and are to take leave tomorrow. The heavy responsibility I am incurring by sanctioning the enormous expences which the Indian department *seems now to demand* gives me great uneasiness—

The Spark which gave Life to every proceeding at the commencement of our operations seems to have nearly expired The Traders have most of them received their supplies and are departing for their Winter Grounds Private views and individual jealousies have overcome every other sentiment without forcibly detaining *them* and offering a large bounty to their Engagees which I did not feel myself authorized to do I found it impossible to collect any number of Canadians. I had determined on seizing their goods and was issuing a Proclamation to this effect but it created such alarm in the minds of the Indians, fearing their families would be starved for want of the usual trading supplies an idea which these Gentlemen took care by every means to foment I thought it most prudent to abandon the measure. finding that nothing was to expected from the exertions of individuals I determined on a different mode of acting and have applied to the representatives of the Northwest and Southwest Companies in their public capacity for such assistance as their influence can bring forward. M^{r}. Pothier is gone to S^{t}. Marys to consult on this Subject and thus stands the state of affairs and the cooperation so much desired by you and so eagerly embraced by me is for the present at a stand still, but preparations are making to expedite the transport of this party under the impression that we shall yet obtain a number of Men and Arms from S^{t}. Marys.

An active intelligent Man well versed in the disposition of Indians is much wanted here. M^{r}. Askin is indefatigable in his exertions but as Store keeper alone he has more to attend to than most Men would be capable of—In my last letter by Amable Chevaliez I informed you of the materials of which my Garrison was composed, the infamous conduct of

my own Men surpasses all precedent the punishments within my reach are resorted to in vain one of them is now in Irons for striking an Officer in the execution of his duty.

Archives, C. 688B, p. 28.

From Major-General R. H. Sheaffe to Roberts.

(Copy) York 1st Sept. 1812.

Dr Sir,

M. General Brock is so much engaged by urgent Business that he has directed me to write to you on the several points noticed in your Letter of 29th July addressed to Capt: Glegg— The capture of Detroit and of Genl. Hull and his Army has removed the grounds of some of your difficulties and respecting several other matters touched on by you, the present uncertain state of affairs precludes his sending you any Instructions now.—he approves generally of what you have done and hopes you will accomplish your design of removing the Chippewas to the vicinity of M.M. [Michillimackinac] if it be likely to be attended by the good effects you propose, but it must be kept in mind, that M.M. may be restored to the Americans & that we ought not to run the risk of conferring a future permanent advantage on them, for a present temporary one to ourselves but this is left to your discretion as you possess the best means of deciding on the merits of the case.—The navigation being now secure, a market is opened for the Furs from Chicago, if one be not offered where they are—

If you decide on sending them down it may be necessary to appoint an Agent at Montreal or otherwise to send them to Mr. Clarke there, through the Commissariat to be disposed of as may hereafter be directed.

Colonel Procter will forward to you extracts of Letters addressed to him, and such other Instructions & documents

as he may deem useful Accept my congratulations on your successful opening of the campaign.

& believe me
D—

(Signed) R. H. Sheaffe M.G.

The Deserters are to be sent down with every information regarding them in your power to afford The General is to go down very soon to Kingston from whence he will probably send up to you Twenty or Thirty of Fifty picked Veterans lately arrived there

R. H. S.
M.G.

Archives, C. 695A.

OBSERVATION BY TOUSSAINT POTHIER AT THE REQUEST OF HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GEORGE PREVOST &C &C &C ON THE CAPTURE AND STATE OF MICHILIMACKINAC WHEN HE LEFT IT.

On the third July last I arrived at Fort S^{t}. Joseph from Montreal in the Capacity of Agent for the South West Fur Company appointed by Mess^{rs}. M^{c}Tavish M^{c}Gillivrays & Co & Forsyth Richardson & Co

That Post was under the Command of Cap^{t}. Charles Roberts of the Royal 10th Veteran Battallion with a detatchment composed of three Subaltern officers and between forty and forty five non commissioned officers and privates of said Battallion.

There were also arrived at that Post from the wintering grounds several of the Traders Equiped by said Company among whom was M^{r}. Robert Dickson who brought in with him from the Mississipi a Band of Indians, Scioux, Puants and Folles avoines, Composing a body of one Hundred and thirty Warriors, Commanded by the principle Chiefs of their tribes, who accompanied M^{r}. Dickson in consequence as I

understood of an understanding between him and General Brock and with the View of Supporting the British interest in that Country.

The number of Canadians at S^{t}. Joseph at this time were but few, the Traders having chiefly left their men and returns at the Post of Michilimackinac.

On the 9th of the same month an Express arrived from General Brock announcing the declaration of War by the Americans against Great Britain, and on the 10th a requisition was made by Cap^{t}. Roberts, that all the Boats, arms, an Ammunition in my possession should be immediately placed at his disposal, which was accordingly done.

The situation in which I was placed representing the Trade and Interest of the Company induced Cap^{t}. Roberts to confer with me upon public measures necessary to be taken in the event of a descent on the Island of Michilimackinac, at which time he made me acquainted with the weak state of his Garrison as well as other means in his power which were of themselves very insufficient for the undertaking, having but Forty Guns in the Indian store, and no Gun powder but what was required for the great Guns of the Garrison and Ball Cartridges for his own men only, not a flint, in short the Garrison was defficient of every necessary for such an undertaking without the assistance which fortunately happened to be within my power to afford him ; with this assistance he determined upon an attack on Michilimackinac as soon as he should receive instructions to that effect and preparative measures were adopted accordingly.

In consequence of this determination an Express was sent to M^{r}. Shaw and the other Agents of the North West Company at Fort William Solliciting such assistance as might be within their power to Contribute, a vessel of theirs being at that time at S^{t}. Joseph was also put in requisition, and those Gentlemen with great alacrity came down with a strong party to Cooperate ; bringing to S^{t}. Maries Several Carryage Guns

and other arms. And altho the distance between S^{t}. Josephs and Fort William is about 500 Miles they arrived at Michilimackinac the ninth day from the date of the Express and found us in peacable possession.

Between the ninth and the fifteenth on which day the Express arrived authorising the undertaking several Band of Indians came in among whom were the principle Outawas Chiefs. On the day of their arrival the Counsel Room was opened to them where the Commanding Officer acquainted them of the declaration of War and required of them that assistance which from their former professions he had every right to expect; they appeared very luke warm, and after a great deal of prevarication relunctantly agreed to Join the expedition; the other Indians were very unanimous, particularly the Western Indians whose animated example had great influence upon the concurrence of the others. it may be proper to observe that Amable Chevalier a Courte Oreille or Outawas Chief who has resided at the Lake of the two Mountains for several years past, returned to the upper Countries last fall, and this last Spring on hearing the probability of a War came to S^{t}. Joseph and tendered his services to the Commanding Officer; this man's influence had been great amongst them heretofore, and altho he used every exertion in his power on this occasion to interest them in the British Cause, which he had heartily espoused, he never could bring himself to have Confidence in their fidelity.

By this time most of the Indian Traders arrived at S^{t}. Joseph with a number of their men, so that we were now enable to form a force of about 230 Canadians and 320 Indians exclusive of the Garrison. With this Force we left S^{t}. Joseph on the 16th at Eleven Oclock, A.M; landed at Michilim^{c}. at three OClock the next morning, summond the Garrison to Surrender at nine OClock, and marched in at Eleven.

Among the Indians that accompanied the expedition

were about thirty Outawas, Amable Chevalier having been dispatched by the Commanding Officer to their Village in order to bring the others (between two and three Hundred Warriors in number) to form a Junction at a given point in which we were disappointed; two days elapsed after the Capitulation when we were informed that they were all encamped at a distance of fifteen miles from Michilim^{c}. On this information a Canoe was dispatched from Michilim^{c}. with Wampum and Tobacco to tell them the news and to invite them to come in and partake in concert with the other Indians of what was intended to be distributed generally, and they accordingly came in alledging their delay arose from the badness of the weather; Soon after Amable Chevalier informed me privatly their motives of delay was Occasioned by indecission on their part whilst the Conquest remained doubtfull and unknown to them and a predeliction in favor of the americans seemed to influence them.

They were in this state of indecission when advices of General Hull's landing at Sandwich arrived, with a force which they Considerably magnified and which tended greatly to damp the ardour of the other tribes, and the very men among them who Cap^{t}. Roberts appointed to a Village Guard, were those who held private Counsels, to which they invited the Saulteux for the purpose not only of abandonning the British Cause, but eventually to avail themselves of the first good opportunity of cutting off the Fort. this being rejected by the others, they suddenly broke up their camp and returned to their Villages to the exception of a few young and old men of little or no importance.

A few days previous to my Coming away the principle Chiefs of this Tribe returned to Michilim^{c}. at that time there were about two hundred Warriors of other tribes preparing to go to Amherstburg to Join the British, when at a special Counsel they declared their determination to remain Neutral and reproached the Commanding Officer with having

taken them too abruptly at S^{t}. Joseph, that their eyes were then shut but now open, and that without them he Could never have got up there pointing to the Fort, and from the general conversation at that time gave to understand that the Future possession of the Fort depended upon them.

When I left Michilim^{c}. on the Evening of the 25th July most of the Indian Traders and Men were gone off to their Wintering quarters, so that very soon after it would be left with no other protection but the Garrison; little or no Indian Goods remained, not much provision, and a great Scarcity of Gun Powder. Another evil which prevails there, is the want of a good Interpreter an object of the greatest importance to His Majesty's interest in that Country.

Montreal 8th September 1812
T. C. Pothier

Archives, C. 260, p. 445.

Extract from a Memorial from John Askin, lately Storekeeper, Interpreter and Clerk at St. Josephs, dated 15th Oct. 1816, *and addressed to Sir John Sherbrooke.*

Your Petitioner had enfluence enough to keep all the Indian Tribes (under his superintendence) faithful to our cause, and when War was declared in 1812, your Memorialist collected at a short notice 230 Indian Warriors, which he commanded at the taking of Michilimackinac the 17th of July 1812 (as will appear by Captain Roberts certificate hereunto annexed) and after that Fortress had Capitulated, your Petitioner collected upwards of 400 additional Warriors part of them, he sent down to the aid of Amherstburg and as Michilimackinac was garrisoned only by 40 soldiers of the 10th Royal Veterans & three of their Officers, your Memorialist always kept a large Body of Indian Warriors constantly on duty for the defence of that place, untill the arrival of Lieu^{t}. Colonel M^{c}Douall with a reinforcement on the 18th

of May 1814, all which time from 1807 to 1814 your Petitioner was the sole person who had the management of the Indians & their affairs at S^{t}. Josephs & Michilimackinac, except a few Interpreters who were employed to accompany Indians sent out on parties—

I certify that John Askin Junior Esquire was present at the Capture of Fort Michilimackinac on the 17th of July in the Year 1812 and had the Command of 230 Chippewa and Ottawa Indians and is intitled to his proportion of Prize Money

Given under my Hand this 9th Day of September 1813

Fort Michilimackinac.
9th September 1813.

Charles Roberts,
Captain Commg

Archives, C. 266, p. 268.

Extract from a Memorial of Pawquawkoman, an Ottawa Chief, to Lord Dalhousie, November 6, 1826.

Requête de Pawquawkoman, *alias*, Amable Chevalier, Chef Outawa, ci-devant de l'Arbre-Croche, Lac Michigan, actuellement du Lac des deux Montagnes.

Ecoutes moi, Mon Père.

Dès le commencement que nous avons été appellés à votre Service par Sir William Johnson, nous nous sommes rendus à Sa parole, et depuis ce temps mes oreilles ont toujours été ouvertes pour écouter ses Successeurs. Je rappelle le temps que les Sauteux ont défait le Fort de l'ancien Michilimackinac. J'étois du nombre de ceux qui ont été au Secours de vos troupes à la Baie-Verte, et qui ont ramené à Montreal plusieurs Traiteurs Anglois qui avoient été faits Prisonniers après la défaite de vos Troupes.

Mon père, Au commencement de la première guerre avec l'Amerique le Major Depoyster, qui commandoit alors à Michilimackinac, nous a invités à prendre les armes avec les Colliers de guerre de Sir John Johnson ; et J'étois du nombre de ceux qui les portèrent aux Puants, Follesavoines, Scioux, Renards, Sacques, et Poutowatamies. Ensuite nous nous sommes rendus à Montreal en obéissance aux ordres de Sir John Johnson. J'étois le Chef du guerre de mon Parti. J'ai suivi le Général Bourgogne dans sa Campagne, et dans le combat où il fut defait Je reçus une blessure à la tête dont Je porte encore la Cicatrice. Je perdis en cette occasion la majeure partie de mes Jeunes-gens. Aussitôt que Je fus retabli Je reçus, par les mains du Général Bourgogne, une Commission de Capitaine que J'ai perdue par une incendie.

Mon père, Sitôt que Je fus informé de la rupture avec les Etats Unis de l'Amerique en 1812, Je quittai mon village et me transportai immediatement en l'Isle S^{t}. Joseph où J'offris mes Services au Commandant de la Place qui les accepta.

Mon père, La femme a pris le *Chikaquois*, et s'est mise à chanter la guerre, et tous les autres Sauvages de Michilimackinac voyant la femme chanter la guerre, suivirent son exemple : et après cela le Barbue et L'Etourneau changèrent et se mirent de notre côté. Après ce Conceil les Americains sont venus pour reprendre le Fort de Michilimackinac et neuf cents hommes ont debarqué. Nous n'étions que cinquante hommes Sauvages ; nous avons tué le Chef qui les Commandoit et plusieurs de ses soldats—cequi les obligea de rembarquer. Dans l'automne de la même année Je descendis à Montreal, et me rendis à la parole de Sir George Prévost qui m'avoit mandé. Il me chargea de porter ses paroles aux Sauvages des Pays d'en haut, et de leur dire, dans la vue de les exciter à prendre les armes contre les Americains, que le Gouvernement alloueroit des pensions a ceux d'entr'eux qui seroient blessés, et pouvoiroit pour les femmes et enfans de ceux qui seroient tués dans le combat. Je fus mis

sur la liste des Officers du Departement Sauvage comme Lieutenant. Il me fit présent d'un sabre et d'une paire de pistolets en présence de plusieurs Officiers de son Staff et de M^r. M^cGillivray, et me promit que Je serois récompensé. Me fiant, comme J'ai toujours fait, sur la parole de Mon Pere, Je n'hesitai pas de porter par des Colliers ses paroles par toutes les Nations, et de combattre contre les Americains dans les differentes occasions qui se sont présentées.

. . . . . .

Au Lac des deux Montagnes le 6 Novembre 1826.

Pawquaw koman

dit Amable Chevalier

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP 11 (*continued*)

BROCK, 1812.

3. Detroit Frontier: Brownstown, August 5, 1812; Maguaga, August 9, 1812; Detroit, August 16, 1812.

[See pp. 412–416.]

Archives, C. 677, p. 18.

From Procter to Brock.

Amherstburg Aug: 11^th 1812

Dear Sir

Since the 25^th Ult^o the Enemy has made no Attempt on this side the River. On the 2^d Ins^t. the Wyndots having at

last decided on joining the other Nations of Indians, of whom they are the bravest, & eldest, against the Americans; a considerable Body of Indians accompanied the Chief Tecumseth, to the Village of the Wyndots (Brownstown) nearly thirty Miles on the opposite Shore from Detroit, and five from hence. I sent a Detachment of a Hundred Men under the Command of Captain Muir to enable the Wyndots to Bring off their Families, Cattle & Effects. This was effected much to the Disappointment of M^r. Hull who has given them a considerable Sum of Money in the Hope of retaining them in the American Interest. Tecumseth who has generally many Indians with him remained, by which M^r. Hull's Communication with his Government was interrupted. On the 5^th Inst. a select Detachment of two Hundred Riflemen from several Corps were sent to escort the Mail from Detroit, which however they lost, and about fifty killed. I had sent a Detachment but they unfortunately could not reach the Scene of Action untill the Affair was finished. The Indians lost only one Man, an Interpreter. I enclose a Copy of M^r. Hull's Letter to Secretary at War. Saturday (the 8^th) being the usual Day of the Post's Arrival at Detroit, every Road & Indian Path, was occupied on the 7^th, 8, & 9^th Inst^s. in the hope of intercepting the Mail for Detroit, as well as expected Supplies. On the 9^th on finding that a considerable Body of the Enemy were on the March to Brownstown I sent a Reinforcement under Captain Muir which completed the Force there to 150 Men besides Indians, whose Numbers it is not possible on any Occasion exactly to ascertain. In this Affair we have not entirely succeeded. The Enemy had some Artillery, which their Numbers enabled them to make a Road for. The Ground on which the Americans had been so roughly treated on the 5^th Inst. was not as it ought to have been, occupied, & some Mistake was made, the Party retreated, the 41^st has lost three, Dead, thirteen

wounded, & two Missing. Militia one killed & two wounded. Indians two killed & six wounded. Captain Muir is slightly wounded, M^r. Sutherland seriously wounded. I can ill spare Captain Muir's Services, for ever so short a Time. He is a brave good Officer. It was a warm Action, & the Officers behaved well, some Militia Officers were volunteers & acted with Spirit. The Enemy's Loss has been considerable. We are all in good Spirits.—I detained the Express in hopes of sending some Information from the Mail. I have heard from Captain Chambers, & from Norton whom I hope soon to see here.

I remain,
Dear Sir
With Respect
faithfully Yours
Henry Procter,
Colonel Com^s.

The Militia are coming in, and Indians also.

H P—

Order Book of Lt. Colonel John Macdonell.

District General Orders.

Headquarters, Banks of Lake Erie,
15 Miles S.W. of Port Talbot.
August 11th, 1812, 6 o'clock, p.m.

D. General Orders.

The troops will hold themselves in readiness and will embark in the boats at twelve o'clock this night precisely.

It is Major General Brock's positive orders that none of the boats go ahead of that in which is the Headquarters, where a light will be carried during the night.

The officers commanding the different boats will immediately inspect the arms and ammunition of the men

and see that they are constantly kept in a state for immediate service, as the troops are now to pass through a part of the country which is known to have been visited by the enemy's patroles.

A captain with a subaltern and thirty men will mount as piquet upon the landing of the boats and a sentry will be furnished from each boat, who must be regularly relieved, to take charge of the boat and baggage, &c.

A patrole from the piquet will be sent out on landing to the distance of a mile from the encampment.

By order of the Major General.

J. B. Glegg, Capt'n, A.D.C.

J. Macdonell, P.A.D.C.

Order Book of Lt. Colonel John Macdonell.

District General Orders.

Headquarters, Point aux Pins.
Lake Erie, August 12th, 1812.

D. General Orders.

It is Major General Brock's intention, should the wind continue fair to proceed during the night. Officers commanding boats will therefore pay attention to the order of sailing as directed yesterday. The greatest care and attention will be requisite to prevent the boats from scattering or falling behind.

A great part of the bank of the lake where the boats will this day pass is much more dangerous and difficult of access than any we have passed. The boats will therefore not land excepting in the most extreme necessity, and the greatest care must be taken to choose the best places for landing.

The troops being now in the neighbourhood of the enemy, every precaution must be taken to guard against surprise.

By order of the Major General.

J. B. Glegg, A.D.C.

Order Book of Lt. Colonel John Macdonell.

District General Orders.

Headquarters, Fort Amherstburg,
August 14th, 1812.

D. General Orders.

Major General Brock announces his arrival to the troops quartered in the Western District, and directs officers in command will immediately transmit returns of their respective corps.

The Major General congratulates the troops on the evacuation of the country by the enemy. He is persuaded that nothing but the spirit manifested by those who have remained doing duty, and the judicious measures adopted by Colonel Procter have compelled him to so disgraceful a retreat.

Colonel Elliott and Major McKee and the officers of the Indian Department are entitled to his best thanks for their judicious management of the Indians, and for the example of gallantry which they have uniformly shown before the enemy.

The Major General cannot avoid expressing his surprise at the numerous desertions which have occurred from the ranks of the militia, to which circumstance the long stay of the enemy on this side of the river must in a great measure be ascribed. He is willing to believe that their conduct proceeded from an anxiety to get in their harvests and not from any predilection for the principles or Government

of the United States. He requests officers commanding corps to transmit to him the names of such militiamen as have remained faithful to their oath and duty, that immediate measures may be taken to discharge their arrears of pay.

The enemy being still in the neighbourhood, the whole physical force of the country will be employed to drive him to such a distance as will ensure its tranquillity.

Officers commanding militia corps are responsible that every individual bound to embody himself do immediately repair to this station, in default of which he will be treated as a deserter and subjected to all the penalties of the new Militia Act.

Captains Muir, Tallon and Chambers, 41st Regiment, Captain Glegg, 49th Regiment, Captain Mockler, Newfoundland Regiment, and Captain Dixon, Royal Engineers, are appointed to the rank of Major as long as the local service on which they are employed continues.

The troops in the Western District will be formed into three brigades: The first under Lieut. Colonel St. George, to consist of detachments of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment and of the Kent and First and Second Regiments Essex Militia. The Second under command of Major Chambers consisting of fifty men of the 41st Regiment and the whole of the detachments of the York, Lincoln, Oxford and Norfolk Militia. The Third Brigade, under the command of Major Tallon, will consist of the remainder of the 41st Regiment.

Colonel Procter will have charge of the whole line under the orders of the Major General.

James Givins, Esquire, late Captain 5th Regiment, is appointed Provincial Aid-de-Camp, with the rank of Major in the Militia.

By order of the Major General.

J. B. Glegg, Major, A.D.C.

Historical Register of the United States, 1812–13; 2 ed., Philadelphia, 1814; Vol. II, p. 50.

From Brock to Hull.

Head-Quarters, Sandwich, August 15, 1812.

The force at my disposal authorises me to require of you the immediate surrender of fort Detroit. It is far from my intention to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware, that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond controul the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honour. Lieut.-colonel M'Donnell and major Glegg are fully authorised to conclude any arrangement that may lead to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.

Historical Register of the United States, 1812–13; 2 ed., Philadelphia, 1814; Vol. II, p. 50.

From Hull to Brock.

Head-Quarters, Detroit, August 15, 1812.

I have received your letter of this date. I have no other reply to make, than to inform you, that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make.

I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that the flag of truce under the direction of captain Brown, proceeded contrary to the orders, and without the knowledge of col. Cass, who commanded the troops which attacked your pickets, near the river Canard bridge.

I likewise take this occasion to inform you that Cowie's house was set on fire contrary to my orders, and it did not

take place till after the evacuation of the fort. From the best information I have been able to obtain on the subject, it was set on fire by some of the inhabitants on the other side of the river.

Order Book of Lt. Colonel John Macdonell.

District General Orders.

Headquarters, Fort Amherstburg,
August 15th, 1812.

D. General Orders.

The troops will be in readiness to embark at McGee's [McKee's ?] Point at three o'clock to-morrow morning. Colonel Elliott will proceed during the night to the eastern shore of the River Rouge, and upon his communicating with the Major General the troops will immediately commence crossing the river and land between River Rouge and Spring Wells.

Colonel Elliott will place the Indians in a position to take the enemy in flank and rear, should he be disposed to oppose the crossing.

Lieutenant Colonel St. George will march his brigade this evening and canton the men in the houses close to the spot at which the embarkation is to take place.

The officers of the commissariat will make the necessary arrangements to supply the troops employed on the opposite shore with provisions and every article required by the different departments. During the operations of the troops in the field each man will receive one gill of spirits per day. The number for which provision is to be made may be calculated at two thousand.

By order of the Major General.

J. B. Glegg, A.D.C.

Archives, C. 677, p. 46.

From Brock to Prevost.

H^d Quarters Detroit
August 16^th 1812

Sir,

I hasten to apprize Your Excellency of the Capture of this very important Post—2500 troops have this day surrendered Prisoners of war, and about 25 pieces of Ordnance have been taken, without the sacrifice of a drop of British blood.

I had not more than 700 troops including Militia and about 600 Indians to accomplish this service—When I detail my good fortune Your Excellency will be astonished—I have been admirably supported by Colonel Procter, the whole of my staff and I may justly say every individual under my Command.

Believe me
Your's Ex^cy faithful obedient
Humble Servant
Isaac Brock, M.G

Casselman's 1902 reprint, p. 59, of Richardson's *War of 1812*, 1842.

General Order,

Head Quarters, Detroit, 16th August, 1812.

Major-General Brock has every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Troops he had the honor to lead this morning against the enemy. The state of discipline which they so eminently displayed, and the determination they evinced to undertake the most hazardous enterprize, decided the enemy, infinitely more numerous in men and artillery, to propose a capitulation, the terms of which are herewith inserted for the information of the Troops.

The Major-General requests Colonel Procter will accept his best thanks for the assistance he derived from his experience and intelligence.

The steadiness and discipline of the 41st Regiment, and the readiness of the Militia to follow so good an example were highly conspicuous.

The ability manifested by Captain Dixon of the Royal Engineers in the choice and construction of the batteries and the high state of the Royal Artillery under Lieut. Troughton, afforded the Major-General much gratification, and reflect great credit on those officers.

The willing assistance given by Captain Hall and the Marine Department during the whole course of the service has been very conspicuous, and the manner the batteries were served this morning evinced a degree of steadiness highly commendable.

Lieut. Dewar, Dpt. Ass. Qr.-Master-General, afforded strong proof by the local knowledge he had acquired of the country, of an unremitting attention to his duty; and the care and regularity with which the troops were transported across the river, must in a like degree, be ascribed to his zeal for the service.

To Lieut.-Col. St. George, Majors Tallon and Chambers, who commanded brigades, every degree of praise is due for their unremitting zeal and attention to their respective commands. The detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, under the command of Major Mockler, is deserving every praise for their steadiness in the field, as well as when embarked in the King's vessels.

The Major-General cannot forego this opportunity of expressing his admiration at the conduct of the several companies of Militia who so handsomely volunteered to undergo the fatigues of a journey of several hundred miles to go to the rescue of an invaded district; and he requests Major Salmon, Captains Hatt, Heward, Bostwick, and Robin-

son, will assure the officers and men under their respective command, that their services have been duly appreciated and will never be forgotten.

The Major-General is happy to acknowledge the able assistance he has derived from the zeal and local information of Lieut.-Col. Nichol, acting Quarter-Master-General to the Militia.

To his personal Staff the Major-General feels himself under much obligation; and he requests Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell, Majors Glegg and Givins, will be assured that their zealous exertions have made too deep an impression on his mind ever to be forgotten.

The conduct of the Indians under Col. Elliott, Capt. McKee, and other officers of that department, joined to that of the gallant and brave Chiefs of their respective tribes, has since the commencement of the war been marked with acts of true heroism, and in nothing can they testify more strongly their love to the King, their Great Father, than in following the dictates of honor and humanity, by which they have been hitherto actuated. Two fortifications have already been captured from the enemy without a drop of blood being shed by the hands of the Indians; the instant the enemy submitted, his life became sacred.

By order of Major-General Brock.

J. B. Glegg, Capt., A.D.C.

Archives, Q. 118, p. 228.

Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.

From Brock to Prevost.

Copy/

Head Quarters, Detroit August 17th 1812—

Sir,

I have had the honor of informing Your Excellency that the Enemy effected his passage across the Detroit River on the 12th Ultimo, without opposition, and that after establishing

himself at Sandwich he had ravaged the Country as far as the Moravian Town—Some Skirmishes occurred between the Troops under Lieu^{t}. Colonel S^{t}. George and the Enemy upon the River Canard, which uniformly terminated in his being repulsed with loss.

The Occupation of Sandwich was evidently productive of considerable effect on the minds of a large portion of the Inhabitants. The disaffected became more audacious, and the wavering more intimidated—I judged it therefore proper to detach at every risk a force down the River Thames capable of acting in conjunction with the Garrison of Amherstburg offensively, but Cap^{t} Chambers, whom I had appointed to direct this detachment, experienced difficulties from the prevalent spirit of the moment, that frustrated my intentions.—

The intelligence received from that Quarter admitting of no delay, Colonel Procter was directed to assume the Command, and his force was soon after encreased with sixty rank and file of the 41st Regiment.

In the mean time the most strenuous measures were adopted, to counteract the machinations of the evil disposed, and I soon experienced the gratification of receiving voluntary Offers of service from that portion of the Embodied Militia the most easily collected—

In the attainment of this important point, Gentlemen of the first character and influence shewed an example highly creditable to them, and I cannot on this occasion avoid mentioning the essential assistance I derived from John M^{c}Donell Esquire, His Majesty's Attorney General, who from the beginning of the War has honored me with his services as my provincial Aid-de-Camp.

A sufficiency of boats being collected at Long Point for the conveyance of three hundred men, the embarkation took place on the 8th instant, and in five days arrived in safety at Amherstburg.

I found that the judicious arrangement which had been adopted immediately upon the arrival of Colonel Procter, had compelled the Enemy to retreat and take shelter under the Guns of his Fort.

That Officer commenced operations by sending strong detachments across the river with a view of cutting off the Enemy's communication with his resources, this produc'd two smart skirmishes on the 5th and 9th instant, in both of which the Enemy's loss was very considerable—whilst ours amounted to three killed and thirteen wounded. Amongst the latter I have particularly to regret Captain Muir and Lieut. Sutherland of the 41st Regiment; the former an Officer of great experience, and both ardent in His Majesty's Service.

Batteries had likewise been commenced opposite Fort Detroit, for one 18 pounder, two 12, and two 5½ inch Mortars, all of which opened on the evening of the 15th (having previously summoned Brigr General Hull to surrender) and although opposed by a well directed fire from seven 24 pounders.—Such was their construction, under the able direction of Captain Dixon of the Royal Engineers, that no injury was sustained from its effect.—

The force at my disposal being collected in the course of the 15th in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, the embarkation took place a little after daylight on the following morning, and by the able arrangements of Lieutenant Dewar, of the Quarter Master General's Dept., the whole was in a short time landed without the smallest confusion at Spring Well, a good position three miles West of Detroit.—The Indians who had in the mean time effected their landing two miles below, moved forward, and occupied the woods about a mile and a half on our left.

The force which I instantly directed to march against the Enemy, consisted of thirty Royal Artillery, two hundred and fifty 41st Regt, fifty Royal Newfoundland Regiment, four

hundred Militia and about six hundred Indians, to which were attached three 6 pounders and two 3 pounders. The services of Lieu[t] Troughton commanding the Royal Artillery, an active intelligent Officer, being required in the field, the direction of the Batteries was entrusted to Captain Hall, and the Marine Department, and I cannot withhold my entire approbation of their conduct on this occasion.

I crossed the river with an intention of waiting in a strong position the effect of our fire upon the Enemy's Camp, and in the hope of compelling him to meet us in the field. But receiving information upon landing that Colonel M[c]Arthur, an Officer of high reputation, had left the Garrison three days before with a detachment of five hundred men, and hearing soon afterwards that his Cavalry had been seen that morning three miles in our rear, I decided on an immediate attack—

Accordingly the Troops advanced to within one mile of the Fort, and having ascertained that the Enemy had taken little or no precaution towards the land side, I resolved on an Assault, whilst the Indians penetrated his Camp. Brig[r]-Gen[l]. Hull however prevented this movement by proposing a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of preparing terms of Capitulation. Lieu[t]-Colonel John M[c]Donell and Cap[t] Glegg were accordingly deputed by me on this Mission, and returned within an hour with the conditions, which I have the honor herewith to transmit.

Certain considerations induced me afterwards to agree to the two supplementary Articles

The force thus surrendered to His Majesty's Arms, cannot be estimated at less than Two thousand five hundred men. In this estimate Colonel M[c]Arthur's Detachment is included, as he surrendered agreeably to the terms of Capitulation in the course of the evening, with the exception of two hundred men, whom he left escorting a valuable Convoy at some little distance in his rear, but there can be

no doubt the Officer Commanding will consider himself equally bound by the Capitulation.

The Enemy's aggregate force was divided into Two Troops of cavalry. One Company of Artillery, regulars. The 4th United States' Regiment. Detachments of the 1st and 3rd United States' Regiment, Volunteers. Three Regiments of the Ohio Militia. One d° of Michigan territory. Thirty three pieces of brass and iron Ordnance have already been secured.

When this Contest Commenced many of the Indian Nations were engaged in Active Warfare with the United States, notwithstanding the constant endeavours of this Government to dissuade them from it—Some of the principal Chiefs happened to be at Amherstburg trying to procure a supply of Arms and Ammunition which for years had been with-held, agreeably to the Instructions received from Sir James Craig, and since repeated by Your Excellency.

From that moment they took a most active part, and appeared foremost on every occasion, they were led yesterday by Colonel Elliott and Capt. M^cKee, and nothing could exceed their order and steadiness—A few prisoners were taken by them during the advance whom they treated with every humanity, and it affords me much pleasure in assuring Your Excellency that such was their forbearance and attention to what was required of them, that the Enemy sustained no other loss in men, than what was occasioned by the fire of our batteries.

The high sense I entertain of the abilities and judgment of Lieut Colonel Myers induced me to appoint him to the important command at Niagara.

It was with reluctance I deprived myself of his Assistance, but had no other expedient.

His duties as head of the Quarter Master General's department were performed to my satisfaction by L^t Colonel Nicholls Quarter Master General of the Militia.

Captain Glegg my Aid de Camp will have the honor of delivering this Despatch to Your Excellency.—He is charged with the Colors taken at the Capture of Fort Detroit, and those of the 4th United States Regiment.

Captain Glegg is capable of giving your Excellency every information respecting the state of the Province, and I shall esteem myself highly indebted to Your Excellency to afford him that protection to which his merit and length of service give him a powerful claim.

I have the honor to be
With every Consideration &c
(Signed) Isaac Brock
Major Genl.

P.S. I have the honor to enclose a Copy of a Proclamation which I issued immediately on taking possession of this Country—

I should have mentioned in the body of my Dispatch, the Capture of the *Adams*, she is a fine Vessel and recently repaired, but without arms—

I. B.

Archives, Q. 118, p. 237.

Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.

Enclosure.

Capitulation of Fort Detroit.

Camp at Detroit 16th Augt. 1812

Capitulation for the Surrender of Fort Detroit, entered into between Major Genl. Brock, commanding His Brittanick Majesty's Forces on the one part and Brigr. General Hull Commanding the North Western Army of the United States on the other part.

1st. Fort Detroit with all the Troops, Regulars as well as Militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British

forces under the Command of Major Gen[l]. Brock, and will be considered Prisoners of War, with the exception of such of the Militia of the Michigan territory who have not joined the Army.

2[nd]. All public Stores, Arms and all public documents encluding every thing else of a public Nature, will be immediately given up.

3[rd]. Private Persons & Property of every description will be respected.

4[th]. His Excellency Brig[r] Gen[l] Hull having expressed a desire, that a detachment from the State of Ohio on its way to join his Army, as well as one sent from Fort Detroit under the Command of Colonel M[c]Arthur should be included in this Capitulation, it is accordingly agreed to. It is however to be understood, that such part of the Ohio Militia as have not joined the Army, will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they will not serve during the War. Their arms will be delivered up, if belonging to the public.

5[th]. The Garrison will march out at the hour of twelve o'clock this day, & the British forces will take immediate possession of the fort.

(signed) J. Macdonell L[t]. Col Militia P.A.D.C.
J. B. Glegg Major A.D.C.
James Miller L[t]. Colonel 5[th] U.S. Infantry.
E. Brush Col. Commandg. 1[st] Reg[t]. Michigan Militia.

Approved
(Signed)—W. Hull, B.-Gen[l]. Comd[g]. N.W. Army.

Approved
(Signed)—Isaac Brock Major Gen[l].

An Article supplemental to the Articles of Capitulation concluded at Detroit, the 16th Augt 1812.

It is agreed that the Officers and Soldiers of the Ohio Militia and Volunteers shall be permitted to proceed to their respective homes, on this condition, that they are not to serve, during the present War, unless they are exchanged.

W. Hull, Brig Genl. Comdg. N.W. Army. U.S.
Isaac Brock Major General.

An article in addition to the supplemental article of Capitulation, concluded at Detroit, the 16th. of Augt. 1812.

It is further agreed that the Officers and Soldiers of the Michigan Militia & Volunteers under the Command of Major Witherall, shall be placed on the same principles as the Ohio Militia & Volunteers are placed by the supplemental Article of the 16th instt.

W. Hull, B. Genl. Comdg N.W. Army. U.S.
Isaac Brock Major General

True Copies
(Signed) Isaac Brock
M. G.

Return of Ordnance taken in the Fort & Batteries at Detroit August 16th 1812.—

Iron Ordnance—nine 24-pounders, eight 12-pounders, five 9-pounders, three 6-pounders. Brass ordnance—three 6-pounders, two 4-pounders, one 3-pounder, one 8-inch howitzer, one 5½-inch ditto.—Total of ordnance taken—33.

(signed) Felix Troughton, Lt. Comg. Royal Artillery.

N.B. No time to take an inventory of ordnance stores &c. and no return could be procured from the American Officers.

Archives, Q. 118, p. 245.
Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.

Enclosure.

PROCLAMATION.

By Isaac Brock Esquire Major General Commanding His Majesty's Forces in the Province of Upper Canada &c.

WHEREAS the territory of Michigan was this day by Capitulation ceded to the Arms of His Britannick Majesty, without any other condition than the protection of private property, and wishing to give an early proof of the moderation and justice of His Majesty's Government, I do hereby announce to all the Inhabitants of the said Territory that the Laws heretofore in existence shall continue in force untill His Majesty's pleasure be known, or so long as the peace and safety of the said territory will admit thereof—And I do hereby also declare & make known to the said Inhabitants, that they shall be protected in the full exercise & enjoyment of their Religion—Of which all persons both Civil and Military will take notice & govern themselves accordingly—

All persons having in their possession, or having any knowledge of any public property, shall forthwith deliver in the same, or give notice thereof, to the Officer Commanding, or L^{t}. Colonel Nichol who are duly authorized to receive and give proper receipts for the same.—

Officers of Militia will be held responsible that all arms in possession of Militia Men be immediately delivered up, and all individuals whatever who have in their possession arms of any kind will deliver them up without delay.—

Given under my hand at Detroit this sixteenth day of August 1812 & in the fifty second year of His Majesty's reign—

(Signed) Isaac Brock
Major General

A true copy
(Signed) Isaac Brock
M. G.

From original in Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

Prize Pay List—Surrender of Fort Detroit.

Prize pay list of those entitled to share in the property captured from the enemy at Fort Detroit, in Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

——	Officers.	N.C.O.	Privates.
General and Staff Officers	9	...	...
Field Train Department	1	1	...
Commissariat	1	2	...
Militia Staff Officers	4	...	...
Detachment 4 Bn. Rl. Artillery	1	5	24
41st Regt. of Foot	13	26	263
Royal Newfoundland Fencibles	4	8	41
Provincial Marine Department	5	9	119
Militia Force, 1st & 3rd Reg., York Militia	4	6	77
5th Lincoln 2nd York	3	3	59
1st Regt. York Militia	2	3	19
2nd Regt. Norfolk Militia	6	3	59
1st Middlesex (attached to Norfolk)	1	...	...
Oxford Militia	...	2	11
1st Regt. Essex Militia	22	32	258
2nd Regt. Essex Militia	23	11	131
1st Regt. Kent Militia	9	8	46
Troop of Essex Militia Cavalry	1	1	4
Indian Department	5	11	...
49th Regiment	...	...	1
Officers (Regiments not mentioned)	3	...	...
Total	117	131	1112

Archives, Q. 118, p. 177.

Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.

From Prevost to Bathurst.

N°. 3.

Montreal 17th Augt. 1812.

My Lord,

I have the honor to inform Your Lordship that an Invasion of Upper Canada took place on the 12th of July last,

the Enemy having on that day crossed the River Detroit with a Force composed of Regular Troops and Militia together with Forty or Fifty Cavalry amounting in the whole to about 2,300 Men under the Command of Brigadier General Hull & took post at Sandwich.

The Militia in the Neighbourhood not being able to oppose any effectual resistance retreated upon their approach towards Fort Amherstburg about twelve miles distant. Part of the Enemy's Force having since advanced to within about six miles of that Fort,—several skirmishes have taken place between them & the Troops of the Garrison which have constantly terminated in favor of the latter, with the loss of several men on the part of the Enemy, & of only one Soldier of the 41st killed & another wounded, and a similar loss on the part of the Indians—And I am happy to say that on these different occasions His Majesty's 41st Regt. in a particular manner distinguished themselves.

The last Accounts from Amherstburg are to the 30th Ulto. at which time Col. Procter of the 41st Regt. who commanded there did not conceive the Post to be in any immediate danger, 'tho' at the same time he strongly pressed for a reinforcement.

Immediately upon the Invasion of the Province and upon the issuing of the Proclamation by General Hull, which I have the honor of herewith transmitting, it was plainly perceived by Genl. Brock that little reliance could be placed upon the Militia, and as little dependance upon the Active exertions of any considerable proportion of the population of the Country, unless he was vested with full power to repress the disaffected Spirit which was daily beginning to shew itself, & to restrain & punish the disorders which threatened to dissolve the whole Militia Force he had assembled—He therefore called together the Provincial Legislature on the 27th Ulto in the hope that they would adopt prompt & effectual measures for strengthening the hands of the Government at a period

of such danger & difficulty, & which were so necessary effectually to repel the Invasion made upon one part of the Province, & to defend it from the attacks menaced upon others.

In these reasonable expectations I am sorry to say Gen[l]. Brock has been miserably disappointed, and a lukewarm & temporizing spirit evidently dictated either by the apprehension or the wish that the Enemy might soon be in complete possession of the Country, having prevented the Assembly from adopting any of the Measures proposed to them, they were prorogued on the 5[th] Ins[t].

This step Gen[l]. Brock was induced to take by the advice of the Executive Council, a Copy of whose proceedings on that head I have the honor to inclose to Your Lordship, & to which I beg leave to refer you as containing the fullest information of the then state of the Province, and of the means to be employed for its defence—

I have also the honor of transmitting to Your Lordship Copies of two letters which passed between Gen[l]. Hull and L[t]. Col. S[t]. George then Commanding at Amherstburg as indicative of the temper and disposition in which the Invasion of Upper Canada has been undertaken.—

Gen[l]. Brock fully aware of the great Importance of the Post of Amherstburg had previous to the Invasion of the Province strengthened it in every way which the small means in his power would permit, & finding from the result of the meeting of the Legislature that he was left to his own resources arising almost wholly from the regular Troops under his Command, to resist the further approaches of the Enemy, he left York on the 5[th] Ins[t]. for Fort George for the purpose of putting himself at the head of a detachment of picked Militia Volunteers whom he was assembling at Long Point on Lake Erie, & with whom together with a party of 60 men of the 41[st] Reg[t] & such Indians as he could collect it was his intention to proceed to the immediate relief of Amherstburg, as upon the safety of that Post until the arrival of such

reinforcements as I might be enabled to afford him from this Province, would in a great measure depend the Fate of the Province.

From the moment I had heard of the Invasion of the Upper Province I had not been unmindful of the necessity of reinforcing Gen[l]. Brock to such an extent as the Exigencies of the service in this Province would permit, and arrangements were accordingly made for that purpose.—

A part of the 49[th] Reg[t]. has already proceeded from Montreal to Kingston where it has probably arrived by this time, and has been followed by the remainder of the Newfoundland Regiment of [*sic*; read "&"] some picked Veterans; the other Companies of the 49[th] Regiment will proceed to the same destination as soon as a sufficient number of batteaux can be collected—

I have also deemed it necessary to give Major Gen[l]. Sheaffe a temporary Employment upon the Staff as Major General in Upper Canada, & from his long residence in that Country & his known abilities, I feel confident he will prove of material assistance to Gen[l]. Brock under whose command I have placed him—The great superiority of our Naval Force on the Lakes has contributed in no small degree to protract the fall of Amherstburg, & will I have no doubt enable the destined reinforcements to reach it in safety; whilst at the same time the fortunate surrender of Fort Michilimackinac, the detail of which I have had the honor of transmitting to Lord Liverpool, may, as I trust it will, occasion a diversion by the Indians in the rear and on the flanks of the Enemy, so as to enable Gen[l]. Brock to attack them with advantage & probably compel them to retire from the Province.

To the prompt persevering & energetic measures of that Officer in a season of uncommon difficulty & embarrassment must be ascribed the present safety of the Upper Province, & I confidently look forward to its ultimate preservation from a continuance of the same zeal, judgment & ability which he

has hitherto manifested in its defence. In addition to the other difficulties of Gen[l]. Brock's situation I ought not to omit to mention to Your Lordship the want of money, which could not be obtained at any discount for Government Bills of Exchange; all that possibly could be spared from the Military Chest in this Province has been sent to him, & I deem it a singularly fortunate occurrence that at this critical Juncture, the issue of Army Bills which I have made under the sanction of the late Act of the Provincial Legislature of Lower Canada now enables me to relieve him from the increased Embarrassments in which he would have otherwise been involved from the want of money both for the payment of the Regular Troops & of the Militia. Upon the Frontier line extending from Fort Erie to the Head of the Lake Ontario no attack has hitherto been made by the Enemy, nor is it apprehended whilst Amherstburg holds out that any will be made which the Force in that quarter is not adequate to repel. From Kingston to Montreal the Frontier line appears at present equally secure & such measures have been adopted for its defence by the supply of Arms & Ammunition to the Militia in that Quarter who appear particularly well disposed & active, as well as by mounting guns on commanding positions, that the communication by the River to the Lake will be fully protected & the Country secure from any attempts of the Enemy to molest it—The arrival of the First Battalion of the Royals from the West Indies with the exception of one Transport captured by the United States Frigate Essex but afterwards ransomed & sent to Halifax has principally afforded me the means of furnishing Gen[l]. Brock with the reinforcements I have sent to him. The 8[th] or Kings Regiment has arrived this Mg from Quebec to relieve the 49[th] Reg[t].—This fine & effective Reg[t]. of the 8[th] together with a chain of Troops established in the vicinity of this place consisting of regular & Militia Forces, the whole amounting to near Four thousand five hundred

men, effectually serve to keep in check the Enemy in this Quarter where alone they are in any strength, & to prevent any Attempt to carry on a predatory Warfare against this flourishing portion of Lower Canada.

Having thus detailed to Your Lordship the measures I have found it necessary to adopt for the security of the Canadas allow me to request you will submit them to His Royal Highness The Prince Regent with the expression of my humble hope that they may meet His Royal Highness's Approbation.

I have the honor to be
My Lord
Your Lordship's
Most Obedient
Humble Servant
George Prevost

Archives, C. 688A, p. 225.

From Procter to Brock.

Detroit August 24th 1812

Dear Sir,

I beg Leave to acquaint you that immediately after your Departure hence a Difficulty was experienced respecting the Administration of the Laws of this Territory, as announced in your Proclamation of the 16th Inst. and that to remove the same, on mature Deliberation, I conceived requisite to take upon myself a Responsibility of which, before you left this, I most certainly had not the least Idea. In so doing I have, to the best of my Judgement, acted in Obedience to your Proclamation, and with the Spirit of which, I humble conceive the annexed Regulation of the 21st Inst. strictly accords. I hope you will do me the Justice to believe, that I have not been actuated by interested Motives, and that it has been with the greatest Reluctance, your Approbation not having been previously obtained, that I have taken upon

myself a Responsibility, which, however, it was requisite, should be immediately assumed, to restore to the affrighted Inhabitants, Confidence, the immediate Object, as I conceive, of your Proclamation. I enclose a Letter which I conceived it expedient to write to M^r. Justice Woodward, and also his Answer which I hope you will find satisfactory. I was doubtfull whether the American Revenue Laws ought, or ought not to be enforced. Formerly they were productive I understand to the Amount of six or eight times the Expences; but of late they have been reduced. If those Laws are not enforced the Inhabitants of this Territory paying no Customs or Duties will be placed on a better Footing than those of your Province which was not intended by your Proclamation. I shall therefore make a provisional Appointment of Collectors. Little however will be done in this, or any other civil Matter untill I have the Opportunity of hearing from you. In the hope of being soon favored with a Letter from you,

I am
Dear Sir
With Respect
Faithfully & Obediently
Yours
Henry Procter
Colonel Com.^g

Archives, C. 688A, p. 196.

Enclosure. From Procter to Chief Justice Woodward, Detroit.

Sir Detroit Aug: 20^th 1812

I enclose a Copy of a Proclamation issued by Major General Brock on the 16^th Inst. announcing among other Things, that wishing to give an early Proof of the Moderation and Justice of the British Government, the Laws heretofore in Existence shall continue in Force untill His Majesty's

Pleasure be known, or so long as the Peace and Safety of the Territory will admit thereof.

Understanding that you are the only Officer of the late Government at present here, I should be happy for such Information as you might please to afford on the following Points.

1st. What are the geographical Limits of the Territory by the American Laws ?

2d. What are the settled and unsettled Parts ; and what is the Population ?

3d. What was the civil Government, and what were the Expenses of its Administration ?—can the civil Government be reorganized without a new supreme civil Magistrate. Do the Laws require such Magistrate, or any other, and if any, what others, to reside here. What offices might the Change of Flag render necessary to be superceded, and which are susceptible of being continued, and would those who heretofore held those Offices be willing to continue in the Exercise of them, their Allegiance not being otherwise affected, for the Time being than as relates to the Tranquility of the Country under existing Circumstances.

I have the Honor to be
Sir
Your Obedient
Humble Servant
Henry Procter
Colonel Comg

Archives, C. 688A, p. 199.

Enclosure. From Woodward to Procter.

Michigan, August 20, 1812.

Sir,

I return you my thanks for the copy of the proclamation which you have been so polite as to send. The determination

of General Brock to continue the American laws for the time being and the full protection given to the private property, and to the religion of the inhabitants, while it renders an honorable tribute to the elevated sentiments which actuate his mind, cannot fail at the same time to conciliate and obtain the good-will of those affected by the late change in the posture of affairs, as well as to smooth the path of future accommodation when the existing misunderstandings between Great Britain and the American States shall be adjusted.

I reply with great pleasure to your several enquiries.

The geographical limits of the Territory of Michigan are designated by an act of Congress.

The boundary commences at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, and is drawn east from that point until it shall intersect Lake Erie. This line has never been actually run. It is therefore uncertain where it would intersect Lake Erie. I have a minute of an observation taken by a British gentleman which makes the latitude of the southern extremity of Lake Michigan a degree and a half south of Detroit. This would carry the line entirely south of Lake Erie. I am in possession of some maps which so represent the country. On the contrary I have seen other maps and have received many oral communications which represent the southern extremity of Lake Michigan as nearly west of Detroit. The American government have been taking measures to remove this ambiguity which however may have been impeded by the troubles which have recently pervaded those regions. During the uncertainty the mouth of the River Miami has been assumed as the line the justices of the peace on the north side of that river acting under commissions derived from the Territory of Michigan and those on the south side of it acting under commissions derived from the State of Ohio.

The boundary was common to Great Britain and the United States on the East and to the North.

From the southern extremity of Lake Michigan a line was

required to run through the middle of said Lake to its northern extremity. It is uncertain whether the northern extremity of Lake Michigan is in Green Bay or at an intermediate point between Green Bay and the Straits of Michillimackinac.

From the northern extremity of Lake Michigan a line due north to the northern boundary of the United States in Lake Superior completes the Western demarcation and closes the geographical limits of the country. Its greatest length may be five hundred miles, its greatest breadth three hundred. It includes two peninsulas, one very large, the other small.

From the mouth of the River Miami to the head of the River Sinclair at the *embouchûre* or outlet of Lake Huron, the country is settled, though in a very sparse manner, on a continued line, without any settlements in the rear, every house forming as it were a double frontier. There were formerly some families at the River St. Joseph's near the southern extremity of Lake Michigan and the island of Michillimackinac also had a few settlements.

The population of the Territory of Michigan is more completely elucidated by the official return rendered to the American Department of State, a copy of which I enclose, than by any observations I should be capable of making.

The civil government of the Territory of Michigan must be considered under three distinct aspects ; first, as a colonial establishment distinct from the several states ; secondly, as forming a part of the United States for certain general and national purposes ; and, thirdly, as internally distributed and partitioned for the purposes of domestic regulation and police.

Under the first aspect as a colonial establishment distinct from the several States the government consisted of one governor three judges and one secretary. The salary of the Governor was four hundred and fifty pounds sterling per annum. The salary of each of the three judges was two hundred and seventy pounds sterling. The salary of the secretary was two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling.

Seventy eight pounds fifteen shillings were allowed for incidental and contingent charges. All these expences were defrayed by the General Government of the United States. All these officers were required to reside in the Territory. They were further required to be possessed of certain portions of land.

The civil government unquestionably cannot be reorganized without a civil governor. He must supply the several offices which are vacant. One judge may hold the courts in the absence of the others. The secretary is also necessary in the capacity of lieutenant-governor and for the preservation and transmission of executive and legislative transactions. The legislative regulations were required to be adopted from those of the original American States by a majority of the Governor and Judges.

Under the second aspect as forming a part of the United States for certain general and national purposes the Territory of Michigan embraced ten or twelve different officers. The following is an enumeration of them.

1. The postmaster of Detroit.
2. The postmaster at the River Raisin.
3. The postmaster at the River Miami.
4. The register of the land-office.
5. The receiver of public monies obtained for lands.
6. A deputy of an extra-resident surveyor-general for the execution of surveys of land.
7. A collector of the customs at the Port of Detroit.
8. A collector of the customs at the port of Michillimackinac.
9. A collector of the customs at Port Miami.
10. Sundry Indian Interpreters.

Most of these officers were paid by fees of office and certain very small salaries. All the revenue officers will be indispensible if the American Revenue laws are intended to be enforced. The others you will perhaps Sir be disposed to consider as superseded in consequence of the change of the flag.

Under the third aspect the Territory of Michigan is regarded as it is internally distributed and partitioned for the purposes of domestic regulation and police.

The following may embrace the various descriptions of officers which it comprehended.

1. The clerk of the Supreme Court.
2. The marshall of the Territory.
3. The attorney-general.
4. The treasurer.
5. The adjutant-general of the Militia.
6. The quarter master general of the Militia.
7. The marshall of the district of Detroit.
8. The marshall of the district of Erie.
9. The marshall of the district of Huron.
10. The marshall of the district of Michillimackinac.
11. Five commissioners of civil police for the relief of the poor, the repair of roads, bridges, &c. &c. &c. in those four several districts.
12. Their several clerks, assessors, collectors, treasurers, overseers of the poor, supervisors of high-ways, &c. &c. &c. in the four several districts.
13. The register, constituting the recording and probate officer one in each of those four districts.
14. From twenty to thirty justices of the peace throughout the Territory.

These officers, where paid at all, derived their compensations from some species of local revenue particularly appropriated to the service.

All these offices are susceptible of being continued for the present time.

The enquiry whether those who have heretofore held offices under the American government would be willing to continue in the exercise of them their allegiance not being otherwise affected for the time being than as relates to the tranquility of the country under existing circumstances is

attended with a difficulty principally as it relates to that description holding their offices immediately and directly under commissions from the general government of the United States.

The inhabitants of a conquered or ceded country may it is conceived after the conquest or cession hold and exercise offices under the acquiring power, and if the country be afterwards retroceded it is believed they do not incur the penalties of treason by so doing. Neither the law of nations nor the American laws appear to require the inhabitants to quit this country, and the liberal footing on which you propose to place the former laws and the administration of them, and the qualified and implied temporary allegiance which seems to be alone contemplated at present is calculated to obviate embarrassment. With regard therefore to all subordinate officers I am humbly of opinion that they may perhaps without impropriety act. Their willingness to do so can only be ascertained by personal reference.

With respect to that class holding commissions directly under the government of the United States I beg leave to lay before you the following extract from their constitution.

" No person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state."

The intention of this provision was not applicable to a case like the present ; but its letter may affect it. It might be proper to permit the American government to be consulted on this point ; as the citizens would act with more cheerfulness if they were informed that their conduct would not be disapproved.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With great respect
Your obedient Servant,
A. B. Woodward.

Archives, Library, "Documents relating to Wars of 1812-15."

REGULATION of the Civil Government of the Territory of Michigan.

WHEREAS the Territory of Michigan, was on the sixteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred twelve, Ceded by *Capitulation* to the arms of His BRITANNIC MAJESTY, & the American flag was removed and the British flag substituted on the same day at noon; And whereas on the same day a *Proclamation* was issued by ISAAC BROCK Esqr. Major General Commanding His MAJESTY forces in the Province of UPPER CANADA, &c. &c. &c. And the said *Proclamation*, among other things announces to all the Inhabitants of the said Territory that "wishing to give an early proof of the modera-"tion and justice of the British Government, the American "laws heretofore in existence shall continue in force, until "His MAJESTY's pleasure be known, or, so long as the peace "& safety of the said Territory will admit thereof," And whereas the said laws cannot be carried into execution according to the effect & intention so announced to the Inhabitants without providing for the existence & continuance of the proper civil Officers; for the execution of the same, & without the necessary courts & other judicial authorities for the administration of Justice among the said Inhabitants.

Now therefore, be it known, that I, the undersigned HENRY PROCTER, Colonel in the Military forces of His BRITANNIC MAJESTY, now Commanding in the Territory of Michigan, do make & establish, for the time being, the following Regulations for the civil administration of the said Territory.

I.

The civil Officers, remaining in the country, shall continue to exercise the respective functions appertaining to their offices, without any new commissions for the same, & those

offices which are suspended by the departure from the country of those holding them, shall be supplied as herein after provided.

II.

The civil executive powers shall be exercised by a civil Governor. The Civil Governor shall appoint to all civil offices, which are or shall be vacant, & shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

III.

Courts of Justice shall be held as usual.

IV.

Legislative provisions need not be adopted from the laws of any of the American States : A majority shall not be necessary when any of the offices are vacant. The Secretary shall make two copies of all executive proceedings, & legislative Regulations, one of which shall be transmitted for the use of the British Government, & the other shall be retained.

V.

The expences of the civil administration shall be defrayed quarterly, by the proper Officer in the military department paying the lawfull amount thereof to the civil treasurer. The duties, customs, & revenues accruing according to the laws of the United States, shall be paid quarterly, by the collectors to the proper Officer in the Military department. The internal duties & revenues accruing to the Territory of Michigan, shall be paid to the proper treasurers thereof.

VI.

The undersigned will act as civil Governor of the Territory of Michigan for the time being. Augustus B. Woodward,

Chief Justice of the said Territory is appointed Secretary. The offices of register, & receiver of the Land-Office, & Post-master, are superceded, reserving a full right to adjust all anterior concerns. All offices in the Indian department are superceded.

Given under my hand at Detroit the twenty first day of August, one thousand eight hundred twelve, & in the fifty second year of His MAJESTY'S reign.

(SIGNED) HENRY PROCTER,
COLONEL.

Archives, Q. 118, p. 196.

Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.

From Prevost to Bathurst.

N°. 4.

Montreal 24th August 1812.

My Lord,

Since my last Dispatch to Your Lordship of the 17th inst., respecting the surrender of Michilimackinac to His Majesty's Arms, & the three attempts of Brigr. Gen[l]. Hull to approach Fort Amherstburg, in all of which he was repulsed and his Army compelled to return to their position at Sandwich, no movement of importance against Upper Canada has taken place. It is now evident that Gen[l]. Hull remains inactive from the want of the reinforcements & supplies which he is daily expecting. Our forces at Amherstburg augmented by the Junction of several Indian Tribes & a small party of the 41st Regt. have on the contrary been enabled to detach a considerable body across the Detroit River into the United States, thereby transferring in some degree the scene of War from Upper Canada into the American Territory—

This mode of operating upon the enemy's line of com-

munication & supply, has been attended with considerable success—

A mail from Detroit was taken on the 5th inst tho' escorted by 200 picked Riflemen, and in this affair, as well as in one which afterwards took place for the purpose of intercepting another Mail & the supplies expected at Detroit, the Enemy have suffered a severe loss, and been obliged to retreat: We had three men killed, thirteen wounded & two missing of the 41st Regt.—one killed & two wounded of the Militia, & two killed & six wounded of the Indians; Captain Muir & Lieut. Sutherland of the 41st are amongst the wounded, the former slightly, the latter seriously—

Your Lordship will observe in Genl. Hull's intercepted Letter to the American Secretary at War, herewith transmitted, how much that Officer's expectations of conquering Upper Canada are diminished, & how strong his apprehensions are of being reduced to the necessity of returning to Detroit.

As Genl. Dearborn had not the power of including Genl. Hull's Army in the arrangement made by him with Col. Baynes, which I had the honor of communicating to Your Lordship in my Dispatch of the 17th inst. N°. 2, I have not thought it necessary to restrain Major General Brock from adopting any measures he might judge fit for repelling the Invasion of the Upper Province & for compelling General Hull to retire from it—

I have therefore used every exertion to forward the supplies of Men, Money & Ordnance Stores requisite for the accomplishment of these Objects.

I have reason to think Genl. Brock reached Amherstburg on the 12th inst. carrying with him a reinforcement of 260 picked Militia Men & 40 of the 41st Regt.—this accession to the Force at that Post together with a body of several hundred Men under Capt. Chambers, consisting of 50 men of the 41st & of Militia & Indians, approaching the Enemy's flank, aided by

the Indians expected from Lake Superior in consequence of an Express sent to them for that purpose by the Ottawa River, will I trust be amply sufficient to enable Gen[l]. Brock to compel Gen[l]. Hull to relinquish his plans of Conquest upon the Province, & to punish him for his presumptuous endeavours to alienate the minds of His Majesty's Subjects.

Force in Upper Canada.	
Royl. Artilly. .	90
10th R. V. Battn.	180
41st Regt.	970
49th ,,	720
Rl. Newfd. Fencibles	360
	2320

Since the return of Col[l]. Baynes I have not received any further communication from the United States upon the subject of his Mission, I am happy however to find that the advantages to result from the arrangement entered into by him with the Commander in Chief of the American Army, in the event of the Government of the United States persevering in their views of conquest in Upper Canada are becoming every day more apparent.

In the absence of Instructions from His Majesty's Government founded on their knowledge of an actual state of hostility with America, Your Lordship must be aware that I am necessarily obliged to confine myself to measures of defence, & to combine every movement with that object.

A suspension of hostilities therefore on a considerable portion of the extremely extensive line of Frontier which I have to defend has enabled me rapidly to strengthen the Flank attacked. The decided superiority I have obtained on the Lakes in consequence of the precautionary measures adopted during the last winter has permitted me to move without interruption, independently of the arrangement, both Troops & supplies of every description towards Amherstburg, whilst those for Gen[l]. Hull having several hundred miles of wilderness to pass before they can reach Detroit, are exposed, to be harassed and destroyed by the Indians. Another consequence of the Mission of Col[l]. Baynes and of the arrangement resulting from it, has been a Discovery of the inability the Government of the United States to overrun the

Canadas & of their unprepared state for carrying on the war with vigour ; this has become so manifest that His Majesty's Subjects in both Provinces are beginning to feel an increased confidence in the Government protecting them, and as the means & resources which have been displayed appear to have far exceeded their expectations, so has it effectually secured their best exertions for the defence of their Country against any tumultuary force—In the mean time from a partial suspension of hostilities I am enabled to improve & augment my resources against an Invasion, whilst the Enemy distracted by Party broils & intrigues are obliged to remain supine & to witness the daily diminution of the Force they had so much difficulty in collecting.

I cannot conclude this Dispatch without acquainting Your Lordship that the Army Bill expedient has answered the purpose for which it was intended beyond my most sanguine expectation, I have also the satisfaction of informing Your Lordship that after having overcome some insubordination and many prejudices, I have succeeded in establishing four Battalions of select Militia at the expence of the Province amounting to Two thousand three hundred Men for the service of Lower Canada.

From this view of the present posture of our affairs particularly as it respects the War with the United States, Your Lordship will be enabled to judge of the Policy of the measures I have pursued, & which I hope will meet the approbation of His Royal Highness The Prince Regent as they may ultimately effect the object I have so much at heart, the security & welfare of the important Provinces committed to my charge.

I have the honor to be
My Lord
Your Lordship's
Most obedient
Humble Servant
George: Prevost.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 245.

Head Quarters

S^t^. Johns, 25 August 1812

General Orders/

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has the high satisfaction of Announcing to the Troops in the British North American Provinces, the Surrender of Detroit on the 16^th^ instant with 2500 Americans Prisoner's of War, and 25 pieces of Ordnance, without the Sacrifice of a drop of British Blood.—This atchievement was Accomplished by a force not exceeding, Regulars and Militia 700 Men, and about 400 Indians, led on by Major Gen^l^. Brock, who represents himself as having been most ably supported by Colonel Proctor, and by every Officer, Non Commissioned Officer and Private under his Command.—

A Royal Salute to be fired at 12'OClock at Quebec on the receipt of this Order.—

. . . . . (Signed) Edward Baynes
Adj^t^. Gen^l^. N.A—

Archives, Library, "Documents relating to the Wars of 1812-15."

Handbill published by the Quebec Gazette.

MORE GLORIOUS.

Herald Office [Montreal], half past three, Tuesday, August 25.

Mr. Neilson,

We have not time to publish an Extra, but an express has just arrived from *General Brock*, with advices, that on the 15th inst. *General Hull* surrendered, with 2,500 men, 25 pieces of cannon, and all his stores, to the British arms, without the loss of a man on our side. This is all that has

transpired, as the dispatches are just gone off to His Excellency, who is at present at the Camp. We congratulate you on this truly glorious news in great haste, and we are very sincerely,

Your most obdt. Servts.
The Editors of the Herald.

Thursday Morning, 27th August, 1812.

Archives, C. 688B, p. 3.

From Procter at Detroit to Brock at Fort George.

Detroit August 26th 1812

Dear Sir

It has been extremely difficult from the Defect of System in the Departments of the captured Army, and the confused State in which all the public Store taken from the Enemy have been found to procure as yet any correct Return. I send you a Return of the Ordnance & Ordnance Stores captured and have the Pleasure to acquaint you that they are nearly all sent to Amherstburg. I also send a Return of Prisoners taken on the 16th Inst. I have not been able to procure as yet a Return of the other Stores taken. The Moment I can I will send off an Express. The vessels have not yet returned from Cleaveland. Annexed are the Reports of Major Chambers, and of Captain Elliot. I daily expect a trusty Person whom I had sent to Sandusky, and when he arrives I shall send sufficient Force which is ready, to take & destroy that Fort. Chicago at the southern Extremity of Lake Michigan is yet in the Possession of the Americans. In my next Letter I shall report what Arrangements have been made respecting the Militia. I annex a Return of Deserters from the British Service, who were found in the captured Army. My Wish was to have made an Example of them

summarily, and would have done so, but that I recollected that Deserters, similarly circumstanced were sent Home from the Isle of France I think, were tried & suffered. I take upon myself to permit Major Chambers to return to Niagara, recollecting that active Officers of his Rank may be wanted there. I should have prefered waiting a few Days ere I wrote, but that I am aware of your Wish to hear often. I have sent Capt. Dixon to Amherstburg to compleat the Fort agreeable to the approved Estimate.

I remain Dear Sir
With Respect
faithfully Yours
Henry Procter,
Colonel Com^{g}.

Archives, C. 688A, p. 179.

Enclosure.

RETURN OF ORDNANCE AND ORDNANCE STORES TAKEN AT DETROIT AUGUST 16th 1812

Ordnance	Iron	24 p^{rs}.	9
		12 ,,	9
		9 ,,	4
		6 ,,	3
	Brass	6 ,,	3
		4 ,,	2
		3 ,,	1
		8 Inch Howitzer	1
		5½ ,, ,,	1
		2¾ ,, ,,	2
Carriages	Garrison	24 p^{rs}.	5
		12 ,,	5
		9 ,,	4
		6 ,,	3
	Travelling	24 ,,	2
		6 ,,	3
		4 ,,	2
		3 ,,	2
		8 Inch Howitzer	1
		5½ D°. D°.	1
		2¾ D°. D°.	1

Return of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores—*cont.*

Shot.	24 pr.	Round	1300
		Grape	20
		Case	12
	12 pr.	Round	1650
		Grape	140
		Case	60
	9 pr.	Round	900
		Grape	50
		Case	80
Shot.	6 pr.	Round	3138
		Grape	16
		Case	90
	4 pr.	Round	210
		Grape	,,
		Case	,,
	3 pr.	Round	3710
		Grape	,,
		Case	33
Shells		10 Inch	272
		8 ,,	467
		5½ ,,	274
		2¾ ,,	3650
Powder		Barrels of 90 lbs.	60
		Dº. 25 lbs.	9
Cartridge paper—Reams			270
Musquets			2500
Bayonets			2500
Cartouches with Belts			2500
Rifles			500
Flints			39000
Musquet ball Cartridge			80000
Swords with Belts			17
Lifting Jacks			6
Gyn and Tackle			1
Sheets of Copper			23
Brass Quadrant			1
Boarding Pikes			100
Sets of Cartridge Formers from 3 p^{s} to 24 p^{r}			1

	Tons:	Cwts:	Qrs.
Musquet Ball	...	10	...
Buck Shot	1	...	...

Flags	English	1
	American	2

One Small Laboratory Still and an assortment of Laboratory implements and Stores.

Felix Troughton Lieut
Commg Royal Artillery

Archives, C. 688B, p. 6.

Enclosure.

General Return of Prisoners of War Surrendered by Capitulation at Detroit—Aug^{t} 16—1812

Distribution.	Regulars.				OHio Volunteers.				
	Embarked.	Rem^{s}. In Barr^{ks}	Rem^{s}. Sick &c.^{a}	Total.	Embarked.	Rem^{s}. In Barrac^{ks}.	Rem^{s}. Sick.	Total.	Aggregate.
Queen Charlotte	130	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
General Hunter	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nancy	146	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Helen	88	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chippawa	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary	...	...	...	...	208	...	...	...	...
Thames	...	...	...	...	223	...	...	...	...
Salina	...	...	...	...	177	...	...	...	...
Cayahoga	...	...	...	...	57	...	...	...	...
Revenue Cutter	...	...	...	...	46	...	...	...	...
M^{c}Calls Boat	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	...	...
In Boats	...	...	...	...	283	...	...	...	...
In Detroit Barracks	...	38	...	...	...	264	12	...	...
In Amhersburg D^{o}	...	52	27	...	...	179	25	...	...
Waggoners—&^{c}. in Q^{r}. M^{r}. Gen^{l}. Dep^{t}.	...	...	...	...	82	...	...	...	...
	465	90	27	582	1126	443	37	1606	2188

NB—The Prisoners Surrendered at Michilimackinack & Captured in the Cayahoga are encluded in the above Return—

Detroit Aug^{t}. 26—1812

Robt. Nichol—Lt. Col^{o}.
Q^{r}. M^{r}. Gen. Militia.

Archives, C. 688A, p. 229.

Enclosure. From Chambers to Procter.

Detroit 24th August 1812

Sir

In conformity to your Orders I on the 19th Instant proceeded in a Batteau to the River au Raisins at which place I arrived on the following day—on my arrival I met with Captain Elliott of the Essex Militia, who had Collected and Embarked all the Arms, and secured such Stores as remained in the House of Mr. Lascelles, I then Effectually destroyed the Two Block Houses, which were surrounded by a Strong Stoccade and capable of making a vigorous Resistance: this Part of my duty, having been performed, I in Conformity with my Instructions assured the Inhabitants of the Effectual Protection of his Majestys Government. But it is with Extreme Mortification I feel myself compelled to state, that notwithstanding every Effort on my Part, to Insure it to them so strong was the disposition on the Part of the Indians in Particular the Wyandotts, to Pillage Ravage and destroy, that I could not Succeed, scarcely a House in that Settlement having escaped Pillage.

Indeed it was one Universal scene of desolation

You may Easily conceive Sir with what repugnance to my feelings, I was constrained to Witness Scenes so disgraceful to Humanity and which I do not Hesitate to say might have been in a great Measure prevented had the Proper officers Exerted the Necessary Controul, but I am Compelled by a Sense of duty to state that it was with the Utmost difficulty, I could prevail on any of them to interfere and when they did it was with so little Interest it was of no avail. I must however in Justice to Major McKee say that He exerted himself to put a Stop to scenes so shocking and disgusting.

The Next Morning I proceeded to the Foot of the Rapids of the Miamis to accomplish the Object of my Mission. I

then saw the Block House destroyed and Embarked the Public Property found.

I am sorry to say the same Ravages took place there as at the River au Raisins notwithstanding my utmost Efforts to prevent it it affords me great pleasure to say that the Conduct of Tecumthe the Shawanoe Warrior, and Round Head of the Wyandotts, was such as to reflect on them the Highest Honor. I enclose a return of the Property found. I omitted to mention that the Indians murdered and Scalped on of the Canadians who belonged to the Gun Boat Commanded by L^{t}. Bender and fired three Shots at another.

I have the Honor to be
Sir,
Your Most Obedient,
Humble Servant
Peter Latouche Chambers
Major & Capt^{n} 41st R^{t}.

Archives, C. 688A, p. 208.

Enclosure.

RETURN OF ARMS AND STORES FOUND AT THE RIVER AU RAISIN 20TH AUGUST 1812.

	Nos.	
Howitzers Brass	1	
d°. Shot	19	
Muskets & Bay^{ts}.	114	
Pistols	12	
Rifles	7	
Swords	6	
Cartridge Boxes	64—	
Pork, Barrels of	9—	
Flour "	46	not Embarked.
Whiskey "	1	d°. d°.
Waggons—.	2	d°. d°.

Peter Latouche Chambers,
Major & Capt^{n}. 41 R^{t}.

Archives, C. 688A, p. 211.

Enclosure.

RETURN OF PROVISIONS FOUND AT THE FOOT OF THE MIAMIS RAPIDS.

Barrels of Pork	77
Barrels of Flour	18
Barrels of Salt	2
Barrels of Whiskey	7

Peter Latouche Chambers,
Major & Capt^n. 41 R^t.

21^st August 1812.

Archives, C. 688A, p. 218.

Enclosure. From Captain Wm. Elliott, 1st Regt. Essex Militia, to Procter.

Amherstburgh 22^d Aug^t. 1812

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that agreeable to my orders rec^d from his Honor Major General Brock at Detroit on the 16^th Ins^t. I proceeded to the River Rouge, where I met Co^l. M^cArthur's Detachment who surrendered himself & the Detachment agreeable to General Hull's letter ; and I left them in charge of Major Dixon, as the Detachment under Capt^n. Brush with the provisions had not joined Col M^cArthur, and was supposed to be on their march, Co^l M^cArthur wrote on the back of General Hull's letter an order to Capt^n. Brush, to conform to the terms of surrender with which letter & the copy of the terms of capitulation I proceeded to the River Reizen which place I arrived at, at two oclock in the afternoon of Monday, when I was at the distance of about half a mile from the fort stoped by a guard of twelve men, commanded by a capt^n. who disarmed me & the three men, blindfolded us & then conducted us to the Fort, as soon as we were within the gate it was shut & nailed up, Brush, the commandant ordered all his men under arms to see me hung as he said, and told me

the papers I brought were forged after detaining me about an hour in the sun I was put into one of the block houses were I was keept untill dark, when Capt^{n}. Brush and his officers told me in the morning the would give me a final answer, as they had learned from some of their men who had arrived that they papers I had were genuine, about twelve at night I was awakened by the noise of the men & waggons leaving the Fort, and was shortly afterwards liberated by Co^{l}. Anderson who commanded the Militia of that place, Co^{l}. Anderson proposed to surrender his Reg^{t}. provided I would on the part of the Commander, his Honor General Brock, promise them the same terms that had been granted to the 1st Reg^{t}. of Michigan Miltia, this I undertook to do, agreeably to this arreignsment Co^{l} Anderson ordered the men composing his Reg^{t}. to parade at two P.M. when they laid down their arms, and surrendered to me the Fort with all the stores a schedule of which I subjoin, on wednesday evening after imbarking the arrms &^{c}. sett out for this place, but was detained by head winds untill the next morning, when on being informed of Co^{l}. Elliott's arrival I returned up the River, and remained untill the next morning when I took Co^{l}. Elliott into the boat & returned to this place.

Schedule

114 Muskets, 80 Bayonet's, 63 Cartridge boxes—7 Riffle's, 10 Powder horns, 6 Horsemens swords, 12 Pistols 1. $2\frac{3}{4}$ inch brass Hoit [Howitzer], 19 shot, 46 barrel's of flour, 12 ditto pork, 3 waggons,—

The arms I have delivered to M^{r}. Wood of the field train, and four barrels of the Pork to the Commissary at this place, the Remaining articles were left by me at the River Reizen in charge of a M^{r}. F. Lasscelle—

I have the honor to be
Your ob^{t} Humb^{e} Serv^{t}.
W^{m} Elliott Capt^{n}.
1st Reg^{t} Essex Militia.

Archives, Q. 118, p. 210.
Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.
From Prevost to Bathurst.

N°. 5

Montreal 26th August 1812

My Lord,

I feel the greatest satisfaction in transmitting to Your Lordship a Letter which I have this day received by Express from Major General Brock, announcing to me the surrender of Fort Detroit, on the 16th Inst, by Brigadier General Hull with the Army under his Command exceeding 2,500 Men, together with 25 pieces of Ordnance.—

In my Dispatches N°. 3 and 4 of the 17th and 24th Instant, I had the honor of detailing to Your Lordship the operations which had taken place in Upper Canada in consequence of the invasion of that province by the Army of the United States, Brigr. Genl. Hull having crossed the Detroit River on the 12th of last month with 2,300 Men, consisting of Regulars, Cavalry and Infantry, and Militia, bringing with him several Field Pieces, and having driven in the Militia towards Amherstburg, first advanced to Sandwich and afterwards approached Amherstburg with a part of his Army to the River Canard, about five miles from the Fort, where he was foiled in three attempts to cross that River, and suffered a considerable loss.—

The Garrison of Amherstburg consisted at that time of a Subaltern's Detachment of the Royal Artillery, commanded by Lieut. Troughton, of a detachment of 300 Men of the 41st Regt. under the Command of Captain Muir, and of about as many of the Militia, the whole under the command of Lt. Col. St. George Inspecting Field Officer of Militia in the District—

The state of the Province at this period from the weakness of the Regular Force in it, as well as from the disposition of many of its Inhabitants, was highly favorable to the views of the American Government in invading it—

The Militia men who had been previously embodied were with Difficulty restrained from deserting to their homes, and those who had been called out to repel the Invaders, in many instances absolutely refused to march.

The Indians of the Six Nations at the same time, upon whose Services the Government had the strongest claim from the support it constantly afforded them—in general drew back from the assistance required of them, affecting to preserve a Neutrality, more dangerous than even open hostility, as more productive of Alarm to the Country, and affording the Inhabitants a plausible pretext for remaining in guard of their property.

Under these circumstances of extreme difficulty and Embarrassment General Brock found himself disappointed in the call which he had made upon the Provincial Legislature for relief, either by obtaining additional Supplies to meet the increasing wants of the public Service, or the necessary power for checking and punishing the insubordination of the Militia, and the disaffected among the People.—

Relying however upon the strong assurances I had given him of a reinforcement as prompt and as effectual as the circumstances under which I was placed by this new War, would permit me to send, General Brock adopted the most vigorous measures for the safety of that part of the Frontier which had been attacked. In these measures he was most opportunely aided by the fortunate surrender of Fort Michilimackinac which giving spirit and confidence to the Indian Tribes in its Neighbourhood, part of whom had assisted in its Capture, determined them to advance upon the rear and flanks of the American Army as soon as they heard that it had entered the Province.

The certainty of the expected reinforcements and the weakness of the Enemy on the Niagara Frontier had in the mean time induced General Brock to detach from the Garrison

of Fort George 50 men of the 41st Regt. under Capt. Chambers, into the interior of the Country for the purpose of collecting such of the Indians and Militia as might be ready and willing to join him, and of afterwards advancing upon the left Flank of the Enemy :—

60 men of the same Regiment were also detached from that Garrison to Amherstburg, and 40 to Long Point to collect the Militia in that Quarter—Having made these dispositions and having previously sent forward Colonel Procter of the 41st Regiment to Amherstburg where he arrived and assumed the Command on the 26th of last Month,—General Brock proceeded himself from York on the 5th Instant for Fort George and Long Point on Lake Erie, which last place he left on the 8th following for Amherstburg with 40 Rank & file of the 41st Regt. and 260 of the Militia forces.

Whilst General Brock was thus hastening his preparations for the relief of Amherstburg, the prospects of the American Army under General Hull were becoming every day more unfavorable and their situation more critical, the intelligence of the fall of Michilimackinac had reached them which they knew must expose them to an attack of the Indians on one quarter, at the same time that they were threatened on another by the Force approaching under Captn. Chambers, an Indian Tribe of the Wyandots whom they had in vain attempted to bribe, aided by a Detachment of the 41st Regt. from Amherstburg, had succeeded in cutting off their supplies on the opposite side of the River, and in intercepting their Dispatches which described in very strong terms their apprehensions and despondency.—

The losses they had sustained in their different Actions upon the Canard River, as well as those for protecting their supplies, together with the mode of Warfare pursued by the Indians had greatly discouraged and dispirited them, and had

convinced General Hull how hopeless any attempt would be to storm Fort Amherstburg, without great reinforcements and a battering Train. It was under these circumstances at this critical period, and when the Enemy were beginning to consult their security by intrenching themselves, that General Brock entered Amherstburg with a reinforcement which he was fortunately enabled to do, on the 12th Instant, without the smallest molestation, in consequence of our decided Naval superiority on the Lakes.

To his Active and intelligent mind the advantages which the Enemy's situation afforded him over them, even with his very inferior force, became immediately apparent, and that he has not failed most effectually to avail himself of those favorable circumstances, Your Lordship will I trust be satisfied from the letter which I have the honor of transmitting.

Having thus brought to Your Lordship's view the different circumstances which have led to the successful termination of the Campaign on the Western frontier of Upper Canada, I cannot with-hold from Major General Brock the tribute of applause so justly due to him for his distinguished conduct on this occasion, or omit to recommend him through Your Lordship to the favourable consideration of His Royal Highness The Prince Regent, for the great ability and judgment with which he has planned and the promptitude, energy and fortitude with which he has effected the preservation of Upper Canada, with a force not apparently adequate to its defence, and with the sacrifice of so little British Blood in accomplishing so important a Service.

My Aid-de-Camp Captain Coore will have the honor of delivering to Your Lordship this Dispatch, and as he is well qualified to give Your Lordship information respecting the Military resources of this Command, and also of the state of parties and politics in the United States, Captain Coore having recently been employed by me on a Mission to

Washington, I shall beg leave to refer Your Lordship to him for further particulars.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient
humble Servant
George Prevost.

[For the enclosure in this despatch see p. 463.]

Archives, G. 398, p. 58.

From Brock to Liverpool.

N°. 7

York Upper Canada 29th August 1812

My Lord/

Since the commencement of the War, my time has been chiefly occupied with my military duties, in various parts of the province—I have not failed regularly reporting to His Excellency the Governor in chief what I considered essential, who I make no doubt has put your Lordship in possession of every necessary information.

The invasion of the Western District by General Hull was productive of very unfavourable sensations among a large portion of the population, and so completely were their minds subdued, that the Norfolk Militia, when ordered to March, peremptorily refused—The state of the country required prompt and vigorous measures—The majority of the House of Assembly was likewise seized with the same apprehensions, and may be justly accused of studying more to avoid, by their proceedings, incurring the indignation of the enemy than the honest fulfilment of their duty. I thought it my duty at this critical moment to lay before His Majesty's Executive Council the representation of which the enclosed is a copy. As no one advantage could result from their remaining longer in Session the Legislature was immediately prorogued, upon

their passing the Money Bills, which leave at my disposal for the use of the Militia, about Ten thousand Pounds. My Speech at the opening and close of the Session together with the answer of both Houses, I have the honour to transmit herewith.

I cannot hide from Your Lordship, that I considered my situation at that time extremely perilous; not only among the Militia was evinced a disposition to submit tamely, five hundred in the Western district having deserted their Ranks, but likewise the Indians of the six Nations, who are placed in the heart of the Country on the Grand River, possitively refused, with the exception of a few individuals taking up arms—they audaciously announced their intention, after the return of some of their chiefs from General Hull, to remain neutral, as if they wished to impose upon the Government the belief that it was possible they could sit quietly in the midst of War—This unexpected conduct of the Indians deterred many good men from leaving their families and joining the Militia—they became more apprehensive of the internal than the external enemy, and would willingly have compromised with the one to secure themselves from the other.

I shall think it my bounden duty at some future day to call your Lordships attention to the absolute necessity of removing this infatuated people from their present situation. The loud voice of self preservation, every consideration of Policy recommends the measure,—although they have changed their tone with the late success yet the necessity of guarding against the evil they may still commit, is not less imperious.

The Proclamation which General Hull published upon his taking possession of Sandwich, tended in a great degree to create the disposition in the inhabitants already noticed, and his emissaries were numerous and active. I caused a Counter Proclamation to be issued which I had the satisfaction to find produced immediate effect among the well disposed who from that day increased in their activity and

Vigilance. Having declared my intention of proceeding to the Western District with such of the Militia as might Voluntarily offer to accompany me, in a few days five hundred, principally the sons of Veterans, whom His Majesty's munificence settled in this Country cheerfully tendered their service. The threatening attitude however of the enemy on other parts of the frontier obliged me to content myself with half the number, with whom I arrived in safety late on the 13th inst. at Amherstburg. In no instance have I witnessed greater cheerfulness and constancy than were displayed by these Troops under the fatigue of a long journey in Boats and during extremely bad weather, and it is but justice to this little band to add that their conduct throught excited my admiration.

To my official dispatch to His Excellency the commander of the Forces I beg leave to refer your Lordship for my subsequent proceedings.

Among the Indians whom I found at Amherstburg, and who had arrived from distant parts of the country, I found some extraordinary characters. He who attracted most my attention was a Shawnee chief, Tecumset, brother to the Prophet, who for the last two years has carried on (contrary to our remonstrances) an Active Warfare against the United States—a more sagacious or a more gallant Warrior does not I believe exist. He was the admiration of every one who conversed with him : from a life of dissipation he is not only become, in every respect, abstemious but has likewise prevailed on all his nation and many of other Tribes to follow his example. They appear determined to continue the contest until they obtain the Ohio for a boundary. The United States Government is accused, and I believe justly, of having corrupted a few dissolute characters whom they pretended to consider as chiefs and with whom they contracted engagements and concluded Treaties, which they have attempted to impose on the whole Indian race—Their

determined opposition to such ficticious and ruinous pretensions, which if admitted would soon oblige the Indians to remove beyond the Mississipi, is the true ground of their enmity against the Americans. The jealousy with which they view the British Merchants continue their commercial intercourse with the Indians has likewise been attended with serious inconvenience. Under the difficulty the Merchant experienced few goods could be introduced into the interior, and their own measures, the operation of the non intercourse precluded even their own people from furnishing the Indians with clothing of the first necessity. The consequence has been fatal to many—Deprived of ammunition the poor Indian was unable to provide the necessary quantity of food or even cover his nakedness with the skins of animals. The Armstic concluded between His Excellency L^{t}. Gen^{l}. Sir George Prevost and General Dearborne, has suspended all active operations—However wise and politic the measure must be admitted to be, the Indians, who cannot enter into our views will naturally feel disheartened and suspicious of our intentions. Should hostilities recommence I much fear the influence the British possess over them will be found diminished: no effort however of mine shall be wanting to keep them attached to our cause—If the condition of this people could be considered in any future negotiation for peace, it would attach them to us for ever. The reinforcements lately arrived from the Lower Province places this portion of the country beyond the likelihood of an attack. The enemy must encrease his present force considerably before he can hazard an Invasion with a view of keeping possession of the country

I have the honor to be
My Lord &^{c} &^{c}
signd Isaac Brock
M. G. & President

[For enclosures in this despatch, see pp. 389-396.]

Archives, C. 688B, p. 10.

From Procter to Brock.

Detroit Aug^{t}. 29th, 1812

Dear Sir,

I received your Letters of the 24th & 25th Ins^{t}. as also Colonel Baynes's of the 8th Ins^{t}. to you. The Expeditions intended will not be sent, and every Measure is & will be taken without acquainting the Indians of the Cause, to restrain them. Should however Hostilities recommence the Armistice I fear will be injurious to our cause here. It is confidently asserted that a General Wells with Three Thousand Kentucky Men are on the Route to this Place, I have sent ascertain the Truth, and shall act accordingly. As General Hull acted indepently of General Dearborn, so may General Wells, if coming, on the same Service. This I humbly conceive it requisite to ascertain without delay, and before I or any part of our Force should leave this, I shall go to the Foot of the Rapids, on the pretence of seeing the Country between this Place and the Miamis, but also to be at Hand to receive any Communication that may be made or to act as may be requisite. I feel it an Object to know, at least to see, a Country that may be the scene of Action. I hope to return before the Vessels from Fort Erie. After this Country is placed as far as we can see in Safety, I request even if you should deem it requisite for me to be Stationed here, Your Permission to go to Fort George. I enclose you two Letters one I have received from M^{r}. Dewar, as his report which I have required. The other from the Commissary, on both of which I shall act, on Mature deliberation as I shall conceive most to the benefit of His Majesty's Service & I hope to your satisfaction. I have been waiting some Hours for a List of the public Stores captured, and am now obliged to send off my Letter without it. I understand

that the Vessels are returned from Clieveland, but have not received any Report.

I remain Dear Sir with Respect
Yours faithfully
(Sign'd) Henry Procter
Colonel Com^{g}.

P.S. I have just seen an Officer who was on Board one of the Vessels which has returned from landing the Ohio Volunteers at Cleveland, he reports the entire Satisfaction as to the Conduct of the British towards them, & complete disgust of their Canada Expedition. He Mentions that there were between two & three Hundred Men at Cleveland who were to be joined by eight Hundred more, & that these were at the Miamis Rapids to be completed to Three thousand, five Hundred Men, intended for this Place. No time shall be lost in sending of the remainder of the Prisoners. The Ordnance is all at Amhersburg and shall be forwarded as Opportunities occur to Fort Erie. I shall write as soon as I can give you any certain information.

respectfully
Yours
(Sign'd) Henry Procter.
Colonel Com^{g}.

Archives, C. 688A, p. 222.

Enclosure. From Lieutenant Edward Dewar, D.A.Q.M.G., to Procter.

Copy/

Amherstburg August 28th 1812

Sir,

Though it does not properly belong to my Department to recommend Purchases to be made by Government, I yet think it my duty to represent you the necessity of retaining for this Post all Provisions which may be intended for sale tomorrow at Detroit. Having to furnish you with a Table of Resources of the District, I have already taken informations

in general which lead to the following results—The Crop of wheat will not average one half of its usual quantity owing to the want of hands to get it in at the proper time and to the subsequent heavy rains—2^{dly}. The Crop of Indian Corn will not average One quarter of the usual quantity from the same cause, want of hands to hoe which if not done at a particular time the consequence is an entire failure—Potatoes come under, exactly, the same head, and for the same reason as the last they are now selling at a Dollar a bushel which is four times the price which I paid for them at this Season last year—Cattle is becoming very scarce, indeed, in the Lake Settlement, and Hogs which afford not only the principal means of Subsistance to the Inhabitants of every class during Winter, but also one of the Staple Articles of Trade, have almost entirely disappeared, partly from the excessive rigor of the preceeding Winter and still more from the shameful depredations that have been, and still are committed by the Indians, those very people whose families we shall have to support next Winter, in addition to a strong Garrison of Regulars and Militia.—

Being upon the subject of the Indians I cannot help observing that their conduct becomes outrageous in proportion to the impunity with which they offend They have at least eight Boats at present in their possession—Yesterday being informed that one of the North West Boats had drifted to Hartleys Point I sent two Dock Yard People to bring it up, they had proceeded as far as Col^{l}. Elliotts when a Party of Indians rushed upon them and took the Boat from them by force accompanied with ill treatment.—A poor Canadian of the Name of Denault, whose horse and Cart we had pressed some time since to convey Ordnance Stores to Sandwich, found the horse yesterday in the Town mounted by two Indians, he seized it, and they struck him, but procuring assistance, and the Indians finding themselves compel'd to submit, they ran their Swords thro' the Animals body—of course Government will have to pay the value of this horse,

as well as perhaps forty or fifty others, that were pressed and have been stolen, What aggravates the evil is that liquor is again sold here to Soldiers, from whom the Indians procure it—The Wind has not permitted the Nid to return to Detroit as yet—I will send all the Batteaux that I can man with the Scow, but must observe that we are in great want of hands.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your Very Ob^{t} Hb^{e} Serv^{t}
Edward Dewar—
D A Q^{r} M^{r} Gen^{l}

Archives, C. 688B, p. 19.

From Myers to Brock.

Fort George Aug^{t}. 30. 1812

My Dear Sir/

The enclosed Depatches arrived here at two oClock, I took upon myself to open Col Procters, & from the Statements in his of the 24th judge it proper to send them forward to you.

I have not read them with much attention, excepting the part relating to my own Department, I find by the Return enclosed by L^{t}. Col Nichol that 465 Prisoners were embarked, (or are stated to have been Embarked) on board the Several vessels for Fort Erie, the Numbers that arrived here are as follow—

	Commiss^{d}. Officers.	N C & Rank & file.	Total.
in the Chippawa	3	17	20
in the other vessels	23	350	373
			393
Women & Children			50
			443
deficient			22
			465

Whether Women Children or officers are included in L^t^. Col Nichols Return I do not know, no other Return was sent with the Prisoners than a Disembarkation one by Cap^t^. Hall of the Queen Charlotte, and I can assure you it occasioned no small degree of trouble to me, as to their Numbers—on their Embarkation I counted their Files, & I took a List by Name Rank & Corps of the Officers, the Returns are forward by Major Shakelton to Quarter Mas^r^. Gen^l^., and I have found my Duty to write to the ass^t^. Quarter Mas^r^. Gen^l^. at Amherstburg, to explain to me for the information of Col Macdonnell his unpardonable neglect, for which there appears no excuse, as I embarked the Prisoners here in less than an Hour, & ascertained their Numbers, I had trouble it is true, but I never consider the discharge of my Duty in that light.

I enclose a Letter from Col Talbot received yesterday, M^r^. Eakins who brought it awaits your arrival here—

I hope very soon to have the satisfaction of seeing you back to us

I am My Dear Sir Your
Most faithful & ob Sr^t^
Christo Myers

The Vessels with the Prisoners Sailed Friday the 28^th^ Ins^t^.—C M

Archives, C. 688B, p. 33.

From Sheaffe to Procter.

York 1^st^ September 1812.

My Dear Colonel,

M. General Brock being very busily employed in writing Dispatches for England, has transferred to me the task of acknowledging the receipt of your several Communications

to the 24th Instant inclusive, which arrived last [night ?] by express from Fort George, and he has instructed me to write to you as follows—he approves of the Measures you have adopted for the Administration of the Laws in the Michigan Territory, as well of those others reported by you, which existing circumstances have dictated; he wishes you to remain above 'till further orders, as he thinks that the present unsettled state of things does not admit of your being withdrawn: You may detain fifty of the hundred Men of the 41st Regiment, before ordered down, if you see sufficient reason to do so, and even the whole hundred, if circumstances unknown to the General shall have occurred to render it necessary —in deciding on which, you will allow due weight to the consideration, that if Hostilities be renewed We shall have to contend on the North East side of Lake Erie for the security of Amherstburgh—the Hunter is to be dispatched without delay to M. Mackinac with the Indian Presents Stores &c. and with such proportion of Provisions as after consulting the A D Commissary General may be deemed *amply* sufficient—enclosed herewith is a Copy of the Return of Provisions taken at M. Mackinac, from which and from the A D Commissary General's knowledge of the probable remainder at St. Joseph's a tolerably correct judgment may be formed of the species and of the quantity of each which will be required; should the fifty six Barrels of Flour sent from hence to Lake Huron for St. Joseph's not have reached its destination, Capt. Roberts may find it necessary to send the Genl. Hunter for them, if no preferable mode present itself—You will please to have prepared correct Lists in duplicate of all those who aided in the capture of Detroit —the Names at full length—distinguishing how serving or what belonging to—41st—Indian Dept.—Naval D°.—Militia (—Regt.—Compy. &c) &c &c &c—those of the Naval Department assisting in Vessels or Boats and those in the Batteries on our side — against Detroit, to be included

but neither *Indians* nor the Militia from this vicinity are expected to be found in your List—Clothing is to be sent up for the Militia—The General expects that all prudent and proper means are adopted for the protection of the Inhabitants on both sides of the Streight from the depredations and lawless violence of the Indians which he trusts will be in a great measure checked by employing the influence of the Officers of the Indian Department and the authority of the Chiefs—He is particularly anxious too that the Garrison of Chicago should be rescued from their fury and is therefore desirous of obtaining its Surrender to us as the only means of effecting it—If Captain Roberts have it in his power to accomplish this object, he will perform a Service which will be highly appreciated—The Deserters from our forces which you have in Custody are to be sent down to Fort George—The General sent up Instructions for having a certain quantity of the Stores &c brought down to Fort Erie and he desires that with each gun a proportion of Shot &c may be sent—he wishes that when there is nothing more important to employ the Queen Charlotte, she may cruise in the Lake and near the Enemy's Shore.

In the actual posture of affairs it is of course uncertain for what duration or under what Title you will hold the Administration of the Government of the conquered Territory—but should circumstances prove such as to encourage you to desire it the Queen Charlotte shall be directed to convey to you Your family and Baggage.

I am
My dear Colonel
very faithfully Yours,
(Sign'd) R. H. Sheaffe
M.G.

Archives, C. 688B, p. 30.

From Joseph Willcocks to Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell.

L^t^ Col^l^ M^c^Donell Grand River, Sept^r^. 1, 1812.

Sir

In consequence of General Brock's commands communicated to me thro' you, relative to the Indians upon the Grand River, I made no delay in going among them, and upon seeing several of the Chiefs, attached to both parties, and communicating my business to them, it was agreed that a Council should be held that Evening at their Village, in order that all matters of dispute between the contending parties should be done away, and the necessary arrangement made for their departure to Amherstbergh. But before the Council could possibly meet, I was seized with a most violent bilious cholic which had nearly deprived me of existance, indeed it was with much difficulty I could be removed that Eveng. from the village to Woodruff's Tavern, where I have been confined, seriously ill, for nearly four weeks. However on the third day of my illness an Indian Chief called Abraham Hill, accompanied by one George Martin, another Indian, came to my lodging, and requested that I would permit them to bring there two Chiefs from each Nation on the River, in order that I might communicate to them that which I intended to have spoken at the proposed Council. To this I agreed; and on the following day the Chiefs attended; and altho' in a state of the greatest agony, I made them a Speech, the substance of which was "that unanimity among the several Chiefs and tribes was at that time, indispensibly necessary for their own preservation and happiness. That they were bound by every tie of gratitude and interest to take up Arms during the present contest with the United States in defence of their King, their Country and their personal safety. That their personal exertions were immediately

required at Amherstbergh. That Gen[l]. Brock had already gone there, and expected that all the Chiefs and Warriors would follow him without a moments delay. These and many other circumstances of a similar nature I impressed upon their minds with all the force my bad state of health would permit, and as they led me to believe with no small portion of success. They thanked me for the trouble I had taken, and all parties pledged themselves in the most solemn manner strictly to attend to the several things which I had recommended. And indeed it appears they were not wholly forgetful of their promise, for on the day following sixty four of the Chiefs and Warriors started for Amherstberg. Karrihoga [John Norton], for some cause unknown to me, did not attend the Council which was held in my room ; and I have just learnt from some of the Indians that he has lately absented himself from the River, but where he is gone they know not. It is necessary to mention that since I began to recruit my health I have had much conversation with many of the influential Characters of the several tribes, from which I am led to believe that no difficulty or opposition will arise among their people, should their services be again called for. I regret much that I have not been able to have written you sooner, but I assure you that until a day or two back I have not been able to hold a pen, which I trust will be a sufficient appology not only to yourself, but also for not having written to the General, or Colonel Myres agreeably to your desire—If I can be of any service here I beg you will write me—It is at present my intention to return to Niagara so soon as my strength will permit.

I have the honor to be
Sir
With much respect
Your Obedient Servant
J. Willcocks

Archives, C. 677, p. 73.

From Hull to Prevost.

Montreal 8th Septr. 1812.

Sir,

In my letter of the 15th of Augt. addressed to Major General Brock, I observed, "that the flag of truce, under the direction of Capt. Brown, proceeded contrary to the Orders, and without the knowledge of Colo. Cass, who commanded the Troops, which attacked your picket guard, near the River Canard Bridge."

As this is not only a subject of national honor, but of delicacy to the Officers, who were concerned in the transaction, it is necessary that the whole case should be stated—

The object of the expedition, under Colo. Cass, was to reconnoitre the Country as far as the River Canard, and I had no expectation of his passing the River and making the attack—

Capt. Brown was sent by my orders, under the sanction of a flag of truce—As he proceeded down the River, he had an interview with Colo. Cass, and the Colo. informed him of his intention to pass the river and attack the picket guard, and desired Capt. Brown not to proceed to Amherstburg untill the event had taken place—

Capt. Brown informed me, it was his intention not to have proceeded in consequence of this information, untill he knew there was no active hostility on our part—

Being however unacquainted with the Shore of the Detroit River, he unexpectedly turned a point of land, which brought him with his flag in full view of the Fort at Amherstburg—He then considered, situated as he unexpectedly was, that there would be more propriety in proceeding than remaining in that situation; expecting that

he should be able to return, before any active operations were commenced—

I am very respectfully,
your Excellencys
Most Obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W. Hull

Archives, C. 677, p. 85.

From Procter at Detroit to Brock at——.

Detroit September 9th 1812

Dear Sir,

I beg to acquaint you that on my Arrival at the Foot of the Rapids, accompanied by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, I found that the Post of Sanduskey had been evacuated by the Enemy, as well as the whole of the Territory of Michigan. The Garrison of Chicago has been taken, by the Indians, partly by Stratagem, more than a Fortnight since, and I am sorry to say that the Garrison consisting of fifty Men, and every other Person there, excepting an Officer and his Lady who were wounded, and a Trader, Kenzie, were killed. We had no Knowledge of any Attack having been intended by the Indians on Chicago, nor can they indeed bee said to be within the Influence of the Superintendent. I have reason to believe that Fort Wayne has been invested by the back Indians, and if Colonel Eliot had not been totally unable from a Lumbago to ride so far I should have required him to proceed for that Place to restrain the Indians. He has however taken Measures that I hope will have the desired Effect. On my Return to Amherstburg I received Colonel Baynes's Letter from Greenbush (8th of Aug^{t}.) & which had been forwarded from Fort Erie, having been directed to the Care of General Hull. I shall send off the Queen Charlotte

with the Prisoners of War, and the Deserters from our Service, under a proper Escort. I do not think it Prudent whilst any of the Prisoners are here to weaken my Force. Besides it may be requisite to send a Force to save the Garrison of Fort Wayne—and the Militia have been reduced to three Hundred. I need not mention that your Directions shall be strictly attended to, to the best of my Power and Judgement.

I remain,
Dear Sir, With Respect
faithfully & obediently
Yours
Henry Procter
Colonel Com^{s}.

Archives, M. 147, p. 222.

From A. W. Cochran to his Mother. (*Extract.*)

[Quebec, 13th September 1812.]

Part of The American Prisoners taken in Detroit have arrived here the evening before last; I have seen all the officers but do not recognize any of my Boston military acquaintances as I expected I should; Both men and officers are a shabby looking set as ever you set eyes on, and reminded me of Falstaff's men very forcibly.—Some of the officers talked very big, and assured us that before long there would be 100,000 men in Canada and that they would soon have Quebec from us;—They do not speak very respectfully of their *General*, and he in his turn, (M^{r} Brenton writes me) is or pretends to be very much irritated against his Government who he says have sacrificed him by not complying with his repeated and urgent demands for reinforcements to save him from the fate which has now come on him.—

Sir George has let him go home on his Parole (together with such of his officers as were married,) in order that he might further embarass the Government by his complaints and throw his weight into the scale against Madison's party ;—But I fear Sir George's hopes on that score will not be realized as Hull is a plausible fellow and little credit is to be given him for sincerity in the violence that he shews against Madison ;—No harm however can arise from sending home on his parole, unless he should be dishonourable enough to break it and take up arms again before he is exchanged, and even then his conduct as a General hitherto shews that there is not much to fear from his military prowess ;—I should not be at all surprized to hear of his taking some command immediately on his return in spite of his parole, as I believe him to be both rogue and fool ;—In one of the letters from him to General Brock when the latter summoned him to surrender, he says (as I suppose you will have seen in the papers before now) that a flag of truce that had been carried by a Captain Brown of his army had been unauthorized by him ;—Captain Brown is among the Prisoners who arrived here the other evening and he told my friend M^r^. Mure that he could shew General Hull's own order and handwriting, authorizing him to go with the flag of truce ;—This will give you some idea of General Hull's regard for his honour ; His dwelling house is very near Detroit and also the house of Colonel Baby of the Upper Canada militia, a man of great respectability in that Province ; The two families were on the most intimate terms before the War but when the American troops came there Hull allowed them to pillage Colonel Baby's house in the most shameful manner and when Baby expostulated with him and reminded him of their former intimacy Hull answered it was true enough but *circumstances were changed now ;*—When Hull surrendered Baby went over to see him in General Brock's tent,—" Well General, says he, *circumstances are changed now indeed.*"

Archives, C. 688B, p. 83.

From Procter at Detroit to Brock at ——.

Detroit September 16th 1812

Dear Sir

I have the honor to send you a Return of the Ordnance stores which are put on Board his Majesty's Brig the Detroit to be forwarded to Fort George. All the 24 Pr. Shot, as also the made up Ammunition for the Guns of that Caliber, taken at Detroit are sent. There is sufficient of that Size of Shot here. Independent of a considerable Portion of the Force here, being at present, employed in the Field, there is so much to be.done and by so few, that the small Arms captured, are not yet put into a Condition to be sent to Fort George, agreeable to your desire and the directions I had in Consequence given. The Deserters are embarked in the Detroit, in Charge of a small Guard of Militia, under an Officer. I beg to mention that the Militia here are extremely in want of Clothing and of Shoes in particular; except a Supply of the latter especially, should arrive from below, before the Winter sets in, the Distress will be great. Permit me to express a Hope that before this Season closes, there may be a considerable Encrease to my Force here. It is very disproportionate to that of the Indians here, a Circumstance I humbly conceive of serious Consideration, being convinced of the Necessity of a Force to command their Respect. I find I cannot retain so large a Proportion of the Militia as I had intended, and also that being mostly Canadians they will be less effective for their Number than any other Militia in the upper Province.

I am dear Sir
With much Respect
Your faithful & obedient
Humble Servant
Henry Procter
Colonel Comg

Archives, C. 677, p. 100.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL PROCTER TO MAJOR GENERAL BROCK DATED DETROIT, SEPTEMBER 30th, 1812.

The Indians will certainly not desert us now, but a respectable force is requisite to give them confidence, and render them effective. The Indians hesitated some time whether they should again confide in us. They have their fears that this Territory may be again ceded to the Americans; and in the event of which, they will, I am confident, look upon us as their betrayers, and worst enemies. Our retention of this Territory is I believe, as much as they would require. I shall however better inform myself on that subject.

I have just received the inclosed letter from Captain Muir. Whatever may be the result of the expedition, there cannot be a doubt of the propriety of it. If a retreat should be requisite, it must be on this side of the streight that every stand must be made. The enemy must pay dearly for every inch of tenable ground we may be obliged to yield to them: The Indians were in high spirits. Flour and cattle were on the way and not more than two days from them. I hope that you have received a reinforcement, that will leave you at liberty to send some of the 41st Regt. to our assistance. I hope we shall do our duty. The Detroit sails without delay—she has the Ordnance and small arms on board. The Queen Charlotte I have detained until I hear further from Captain Muir, in the meantime she will shew herself on the American Coast between Cleveland and St. Dusky to cause an alarm there.

Archives, C. 688B, p. 107.

From Procter at Detroit to Sheaffe at Fort George.

Detroit October 1st 1812

My dear General

I have to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letters of the 24th & 25th Ulto. The Queen Charlotte, the Detroit & Mary

arrived at Amherstburg on the Afternoon of the 28th Inst. I wrote to General Brock by Return of the Express and enclosed a Copy of a Letter from Captain Muir, which has caused me no little Anxiety tho' I have every Confidence in him and his brave little Band. The Expedition cannot but be approved of, indeed it was only prudent to send it, and it would, tho' the Indians are tardy, have been in good Time, but for the very unfortunate Armistice. We shall have a considerable Force, I fully expect, brought against us soon, the Militia cannot refuse to march to this Territory. There is nothing, of which I am more convinced, than of the Necessity of a respectable Force here, to give sufficient Confidence to the Indians, and bring them into full Effect. . . . . .

I am, My dear General
faithfully Yours
Henry Procter
Colonel Com[g]

Archives, G. 5, p. 193.

From Bathurst, Downing Street, to Prevost at Quebec.

Duplicate
N°. 10 Downing Street 1st October 1812

Sir,

I have had the honour of laying before The Prince Regent, your Dispatches of the Dates & Numbers specified in the Margin, detailing the operations to which the Declaration of War against this Country on the part of the United States, & the subsequent Invasion of Upper Canada by an American Army had given rise, & the Measures to which Gen[l]. Brock had resorted for the Protection of that Province.

No.
59—30 July
65—
3—17th Augst.
4—24th "

The judicious Endeavours of that officer to awaken the Legislature of the Province to a Sense of their duty and their interest; the Promptitude with which he dissolved that Assembly upon finding it so criminally indifferent to the fate

of Upper Canada, as not to invest him with the Authority necessary for its Preservation, & his Determination, under such circumstances, to proclaim & enforce Martial Law, are proofs at once of his Judgement & Decision, which have not escaped the observation of His Royal Highness, and I have it in Command to desire that you will convey to Gen[l]. Brock His Royal Highness's entire Approbation, as well of the Measures to which I have more particularly referred, as of the General Zeal, and Ability which he has uniformly displayed since the Commencement of the War, in a Situation, which from peculiar Circumstances, had become one of considerable Embarrassment.

Altho' His Royal Highness deeply regrets that any of His Majesty's Subjects should have been capable of being influenced by the delusive promises held out in the Proclamation of an invading Enemy, yet it is no inconsiderable Satisfaction to His Royal Highness to observe that this unworthy feeling is confined to a Part of Upper Canada alone—It is impossible not to be aware of the Restraint which such a Disposition must necessarily impose upon Gen[l]. Brock's Military operations. But His Royal Highness trusts that the decisive measures which Gen[l]. Brock has taken, will curb the Efforts of the disaffected, and that the Success of His Majesty's Arms in the Capture of Michilimackinac, the determined Defence of Amherstburgh, and, above all, the successful result of those Exertions which you state yourself and Gen[l]. Brock to be making for the Relief of that Fort, will counteract any Effect which the unresisted advance of Gen[l]. Hull may have, at first, had upon the timid and indifferent.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Most Obedient,
Humble Servant
Bathurst

Archives, C. 677, p. 111.

From Procter at Detroit to Brock at Fort George.

Detroit October 3^{d} 1812.

Sir,

I have the honor to send you herewith a Copy of a letter which I received last evening from Captain Muir, who I find has arrived at Amherstburg with his detachment. Fort Wayne had been relieved about ten days previous to the detachments arrival at Fort Defiance. The delay occasioned by the Armistice prevented the Attainment of one object of the expedition, which was the destruction of Fort Wayne, the other was effected by the enemy. I do not think we shall have any credit for our good intentions however. Some delays which occurred on the expedition proved fortunate, as they could, it now appears, scarcely have returned before a very considerable body of the enemy would have intercepted them. If I had not been already perfectly convinced of the necessity of an independent regular force to ensure the effectual assistance of the Indians, the history of this expedition would have confirmed me in that opinion. I fully expect that the enemy will advance as soon as they can bring Provisions &c. to Fort Defiance, which they probably will move from in force. The Ohio State abounds in cattle &c. From the people that have left this place of late, whom it is an object to be rid of, the enemy know perfectly our state, our force &c which they no doubt are led to believe not equal even to what it is. Their Militia cannot refuse to March into this Territory. I have been getting the cattle as much as possible from the lower part of this Territory. I shall not now stand on much ceremony. I shall leave no provisions for the enemy, and shall make every obstacle to his advance. It is with much reluctance I leave myself without a Vessell of force, but the Season is so advanced that I am

averse to any portion of it being lost. If the Lady Prevost can be spared even until the Charlottes return, she may prove very usefull.

I am, Sir,
With respect, Your
faithful & Obedient Servant
signed/ Henry Procter
Colonel Comm^g

Archives, C. 677, p. 116.

From the Duke of York to Prevost.

Duplicate.

Horse Guards 7^th Oct^r. 1812.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Dispatch of the 26^th August with its enclosed Report from Major General Brock, announcing the Surrender of Fort Detroit by Brigadier General Hull with The Army under his Command: and also reporting the arrangements & Operations connected with this Event.

An occurrence which so gloriously terminates a Campaign, commenced under the declared Confidence of Success on the part of an arrogant Enemy, cannot fail of being most acceptable to The Prince Regent and gratifying to The Country in general; and in communicating upon the Subject with His Royal Highness, I have His Commands to assure you that he highly approves the judicious and prompt arrangements which you adopted throughout The Province generally, for repelling the Progress of Invasion: and Major General Brock's exertions in The Country which was the more immediate object of The Enemy's Attack, as well as the Skill and promptitude with which that Officer availed Himself of the Embarrassments in which The Invader found Himself unexpectedly involved are highly appreciated & acknowledged by His Royal Highness.

I have The Prince Regent's commands therefore, to desire that you will be pleased to convey to Major General Brock and The Officers & Troops employed under His Command, in the operations against Brigadier General Hull, the full Thanks of His Royal Highness for the Important Services He, and They have performed upon this Occasion.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that The Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to approve of the bearer of your Dispatches, Captain Coore of the 3rd West India Regiment, being promoted to the Rank of Major in The Army ;—and His Royal Highness has further been pleased to approve of Major General Brock's Aide de Camp, Captain Glegg of The 49th Regiment, being promoted to The Same Rank.—

I am,
Sir,
Yours.—
Frederick
Commander in Chief

Archives, M. 147, p. 274.

From A. W. Cochran to his Father. (*Extract.*)

[Montreal, Oct^r. 10 1812]

The man who came in from the American Camp brought a Plattsburgh paper of the 3rd instant and an Albany paper of the 22nd ult°. In the Plattsburgh paper was General Hull's official letter to his Gov^t. in which he makes out a good story for himself, by underrating his own force at *600* effective men and overrating our's at *2000* of whom he says *800* were regulars so that what with one lie and another he makes it out as clear as noonday that Alexander the Great himself c^d. have done no more than he did,—In one place he says that he is convinced that his officers & men w^d have fought until their last cartridge was expended and their bayonets worn

to the sockets! The Americans I think bid fair to rival & surpass the French in gasconading as well as in every thing that is dishonourable base & contemptible;—But after hearing Hull *audi et alteram partem.* In the Albany paper was contained the official report of Colonel Cass to the Sec^{y}. at War in which he delivers (he says) the opinions of all the Colonels, who were with Hull; And Cass denies positively and roundly every fact stated by Hull as a reason for the surrender; His letter gives the lie pointblank to Hull's whom he calls a coward or traitor in every thing but the express terms for he says that the Surrender was the effect of the General's *personal feelings* alone,—now those feelings must have been such as will stamp either for a coward or a traitor; Colonel Cass letter is so far good that the material facts are truly stated, but these Yankees can not tell a plain story like other folks;—they cannot help *immersing the wig in the ocean* as Sterne says of the Frenchman, and Colonel Cass's high prancing words fall very little short of General Hull's or Commodore Rodgers's gasconade in point of vanity and absurdity.

Archives, Askin Papers.

Extract from an Original Journal of Charles Askin.

Left Warner Nelles's Friday afternoon the 24th [July, 1812] met on my way up to the Mohawk Castle two or three Indians who appeared alarmed—one of them told me that an Indian had just come from Amherstburgh that he said there were a great body of the American troops on their way up the River Thames, horse & foot.—this Indian appeared from his dress &^{ca}. as if he had left home to go and meet the Enemy with the party under Major Chambers; but had got alarmed and was going back again.—after going a little further I came to a Village where I saw two or three hundred Indians, I

found from some of them who rode up with me to Mohawk Castle that they had, had a Council and it was their determination not to fight the Americans. I afterwards learnt that General Hull had wrote them a letter which was brought them by the Indian who had as I before mentioned come from Amherstburgh, which was the cause of their holding the Council—I got in the Even^{g}, to the Bridge, there got a fresh horse and rode to Yieigh's where I got about 9 OClock, I found Major Chamber's with the party under his Command, also M^{r}. W^{m}. Crooks, and Hamilton Merrit with some Light horse, who had Ebenezer Allan and two other men prisoners, that were taken at Delaware for some treasonable behaviour—

Saturday 25th in the morning M^{r}. Merrit went off with his prisoners to Niagara, Major Chambers, young S^{t}. John & myself rode down to G.[rand] R.[iver] to the Mohawk Castle, We found Cap^{t}. Norton, there who told us that few of the Indians, were ready yet to go with him, but would be in a day or two We returned from the Castle to Woodruffs at the G.[rand] R.[iver] Bridge dined there, Cap^{t}. N. with us, from this Major C. and myself with Lieu^{t}. Garner a Militia Officer (who volunteered his Services to go with the Major on the Expedition) went to Mount pleasant press'd a few waggons then rode to Yeigh's, M^{r}. Hamilton, Wilkinson, and some of the men had left it and gone with part of the baggage to Oxford—

Sunday 26th Morn^{g}. Our party left Yiegh's in Waggons and went to Oxford where We found some of the Oxford Militia under Col. Bostwick I think ab^{t}. Seventy five of them.—

Monday 27th In the Morning Col. Talbot, arrived at our Camp, from Long P^{t}. with young M^{r}. Rolph and some Other Officers of the Long P^{t}. Militia who Said that their Militia had been on their March to join us had got as far as Masacres : but there mutinied and went back,

Tuesday 28th I was taken ill in the Morng. occasioned by being out a great deal in the Rain, (continued ill Wed. 29th & 30th in the afternoon on Thursday I went with Mr. Carl to stay at his house as it was more comfortable there than where I was staying, and I thought I should soon recover,—before I left our Camp (for I know not what else to call it) Col. Talbot, had gone either to Lg. Pt. or Port Talbot, Capt. Norton had joined us with abt. 12 or 14 Indians, Wm. Crooks & Mr. Racey had been with us and had gone off with Westbrook of Delaware to take him down a prisoner as he was supposed to have some concern with the Enemy and suspected to have aided in having General Hull's proclamation promulgated.

Friday 31st Doctr. Sumner paid me a visit and wished to give me an Emetic but I felt myself so much better that I declined taking any, he advised then to remain for a few days where I was.—the Doctr. left me and soon after Mr. Wilkinson came and informed me that the men were to march for Delaware that evening. I got the few things packed up I had with me and left Mr. Carl's where I had been treated with very great attention and politeness, he has a large family most of them Sons growing up,—they all appear much attached to the British Government, which I believe is the case with very few in Oxford Delaware, or the Grand River,—On my Arrival at my old Quarters, I found that Major Chambers and Mr. Hamilton had been on their way to Delaware but had returned in consequence of some Despatches brought to the Major by young Mr. Secord, I also learnt that we had taken Michilimackinack without firing a shot, it was said to be taken by a party of Indians under Mr. Robt. Dickson—

Saturday Augt. 1st The Detachment left Oxford with the Dragoons, & abt. 70 Oxford Militia—I was unwell & had to stay behind.

Sunday 2d Left Fuller's with Doctr. Sumner and went to

Yieghs, the fatigue of riding put me in a fever, the Doct^{r}. left me here and went to Join the Detachment which had march'd to Long P^{t}. in the morn^{g}.

Monday 3^{d} I was so unwell that I was confined to bed most all day.

Tuesday 4th Felt much better. We heard that a few Light horse from York and about 100 of the York Militia were on their way to Long P^{t}. saw 3 Canadians today who were just from Amherstburgh on their way to Montreal—they mentioned that the Indians had had some skirmishes with the Americans near River Canard & had driven them—once or twice—Got a note in the Evening from M^{r}. Hamilton from L^{g}. P^{t}. advising me to join immediately—had a horse press'd in the morn^{g}. and rode to Long P^{t}. through a most beautiful country and very good roads—arrived at Dover ab^{t}. 3 OClock in the afternoon, found a great many men there, Norfolk Militia, York Militia, Oxford Militia Dragoons & the 41st also some Artillery with a 6 pounder which was sent up from Niagara—heard on my way up that the General was coming,

Wednesday 5th heard that the Nancy had been to Fort Erie & had taken up about 60 of the 41st Reg^{t}.—Was so weak that I could not drill with the men.

Thursday 6th Was unwell to-day—the Militia were drilled by Cap^{t}. Chambers.

Friday 7th Nothing remarkable occurred to day, in the Evening General Brock arrived. M^{r}. Wilkinson, Hamilton & myself left M^{r}. Nichols where we had been staying and went to M^{r}. Williams, where Cap^{t}. Heward & other Officers of the York Militia were, here we staid all night. Lieu^{t}. Jarvis arrived in the middle of the night—he came with a small party of Indians—

Saturday 8th we all embarked in boats, for Amherstburgh except the Norfolk Militia under Major Salmon & ab^{t}. 14 or 16 Oxford Do., who embarked in the Chippawa—Some of the

Oxf^{d}. & Norfolk Militia were left behind for want of boats—I embarked on board the Largest boat with the 41st. Major Chambers was so unwell that he had to remain behind, our boat being much loaded having the 6 pounder on board & many other things, we did not get off so soon as the other boats—we attempted to get to the carrying place but could not find the small creek that led to it nor could we get on shore, therefore anchored among the Rushes and staid there all night.

Sunday 9th Early in the morning we got under way and soon saw the General's Boat and several other, we got in the Creek and went up to the carrying place, we had to take out most all our lading and then with the assistance of the other boats crews had great difficulty to get our boat over,—We had to caulk our boat here and then load and were so long doing this that Most of the boats were seven or eight miles a head of us before we could off but the wind was fair and we came up to them, the General put in at Kettle creek and all our brigade—

Monday 10th Left Kettle Creek early in the Morning, the wind fair and a good breeze—the wind increased so and there was such an appearance of a storm, that M^{c}Caul who sailed our boat thought it advisable to put in at Port Talbot, distance 7 Miles from Kettle Creek, this was a very bad port for our boat, for we could not get her into the Creek, and had to haul her up the beach—here we remained all day, during the day Col. Talbot and Major Chambers arrived, also ab^{t}. 28 Dragoons but these I did not see they were ordered to Delaware immediately, during the night it rained so hard, that M^{r}. Lenn and myself were forced to leave our camp & go up to Col. Talbots, where we slept on our blankets before the Kitchen fire very comfortably, we found a man there who had just arrived with an express for General Brock, To day our party was strengthened by a Company of Riflemen in two boats under Cap^{t}. Robertson of York,—

Tuesday 11th Left Port Talbot we sail'd some time, then the wind changed and we had to row, we were left behind by all the boats, at length the wind increased so much that we went a shore and anchored off—the General who had put on shore a mile further came down & had our boat taken up nearly a mile above where his Boat lay—we staid here the remainder of the day, in the evenᵍ. we got orders to get under way at 12 OClock but that the General's boat would have a light in it and no boat should pass it,

Wednesday 12th abᵗ. 4 OClock in the Mornᵍ. we saw a boat with a light passing & we got off as soon as possible but all the boats were a great way a head of us—the Wind was fair and we passed them all before we got to Point aux Pins—the General desired us to Make the best of our Way up, the Wind was fair and we got to Point a Pelé at night, here we went on shore to cook something for the men, as we understood a party of American Light horse had been there we patroled all night, not myself for I had not been well since I left port Talbot.

Thursday 13th Left Point au Pelé before day and arrived at Amherstburgh abᵗ. 8 OClock in the night, we were saluted by a Number of Indians encamped near Capᵗ. Elliotts, heard on our way up at a house we stop'd at to day, that the Americans had left Sandwich and returned to Detroit—

Saturday afternoon 15th Augᵗ. 1812 the American Garrison was summoned to surrender by General Brock but refused, as soon as their answer came down to Gen. B.—the artillery Officer went up to the battery opposite Detroit and soon heard a firing commence which continued for a couple of hours, the party of the 41st which came up with us were called out, and 9 more of the Regᵗ. joined us we were then I think Just 50 men including Mʳ. Hamilton Mʳ. Wilkinson & myself, we were in two divisions the first commanded by Mʳ. Lenn and the 2ᵈ, to which we belonged by Sergeant Blaney—Some Militia joined us and Major Chambers form

into open Column & then into Line several times, every one, and every thing allmost, was at this time in motion, people galloping in every direction—we were ordered to be in readiness at 4 OClock next morn^{g} for marching, as soon as we were dismissed the Officers of Militia and most of us were very bussy in preparing every thing for action, pistols swords &^{ca}.—Long before day we were up on Sunday 16th then fell in—Major Chambers commanded the 2^{d} Brigade —— strong, composed of 50 of the 41st including 3 Vol^{s}.—M^{r}. Hatt's company Militia the Norfolk & Oxford Militia—Major Tallen commanded the 3^{d} Brigade in which there was nothing, but the 41st & the 1st Brigade commanded by Col. S^{t}. George consisted of the Essex Militia, & some New Foundland Corps—the 2^{d} Brigade was halted a short time at Sandwich then marched down near to Parks Mill, where we embarked, when marching down we saw the 3^{d} Brigade and the General, and his staff crossing the River just below the Springwell—I think it was the handsomest sight I ever saw, the Indians were allready over they just crossed before us, when we landed we formed in open column in the rear of the 3^{d} Brigade, a company of Riflemen from York went over with us, we all got over without any opposition—but did not belong to any Brigade they were most all painted as Indians—we were some time halted here, then marched up the road, I was much pleased to observe how unconcerned most of the men were both Militia and Regulars the first house we passed we observed the Indians had broke into and were plundering, we found them also running after horses in every direction we marched at Quick time but had frequently to halt, the Carr Brigade passed us on the Road—I think there was about five or six Guns—and more I believe in front—I saw a number of inhabitants many of whom knew me and seemed happy to see me, we got at last to M^{r}. Henry's about a Mile and a half from Detroit and there halted, from this place sent a flag of truce to the Garrison desiring them a

2[d] time to surrender it was a long time before we had an answer therefore was kept a long time in suspense—many were wishing them not to capitulate—these were young Officers who were anxious to have an opp[y]. of distinguishing themselves ; but most of us wished I believe they should—to spare the effusion of blood and for the sake of the poor Women & Children who we knew would not be spared by the Indians should an action once commence—fortunately for us as it will appear afterwards the Americans after some time capitulated and surrendered themselves prisoners of War—I forgot before to mention that while we were marching up a constant firing was kept up from Our Battery at M[r]. Babys and from the American Fort, the American Guns were 24 pounders, while we staid at M[r]. Henry's two prisoners were brought in, one by an Indian and another by one of the Rifle Company, during our stay here a good many of the Canadian Militia belonging to Col. S[t]. George's Brigade joined us, M[r]. W[m]. Forsyth was living near M[r]. Henry's—I never saw a person more happy than he was to see us he was so overjoyed that he could hardly speak—We marched up to the Garrison the Carr Brigade in front I believe there was —— six pounders & the Ammunition Carrs—We marched into the Town and from that up into Fort *Lernou* ; but there were so many American Troops in it, that we could not all get in, I believe our marching in was improper, and that it was done by mistake, for we were but a few minutes there before we were ordered to march out, I really think there was while we were in the Garrison two Americans for one of us and they had still their Arms, we formed on the West side of the Fort in line, untill all the Americans had marched out, but I was so situated that I could not see them coming, they did not march with the honors of War—though I am told they were allowed to do it by the Capitulation—but the Officers of the Am— Army were so mortified that they had to surrender without fighting that they were indifferent about

it or anything else then, the American colours were flying nearly an hour after we first marched into the Garrison, After the Americans had all marched out, the Grenadiers & Light Infantry of the 41st Regt. and the Volunteers in that Regt., that is Mr. Geo. Hamilton Wilkinson myself and Jno. Richardson, commanded by Mr. Bullock of the Grenadiers, marched into the Fort, with Drum & Fife to the tune of the British Grenadiers—I must say that I never felt so proud, as I did just then, as soon as we were in the Fort, the American Colours were taken down and ours hoisted, three Cheers were given as they were hoisted by the Militia and others outside the Fort—& the Indians when the Salute was fired with the Cannon gave an Indian Yell every shot—we the Volunteers remained with our Guard until the Colours of the 4th A. Regt. were brought by a part of our Guard after which we got leave to go where we wished, I and Mr. Hamilton went to see Mr. Brush, where we dined—Two prisoners were taken in the Woods to day while we were at Mr. Henry's, one by an Indian & another by a Rifleman.

There were about 2300 prisoners surrendered, besides the Militia of the Michigan Territory, who gave up their arms that day, with the others, these were 3 or 4 hund. strong—most of the American army were composed of Militia from the State of Ohio, who had volunteered their Services for a year, some were cavalry, vizt. one company, great number Riflemen, and some infantry—these were of the Regular troops, —— of Artillery —— of the 1st Regt. and about 3 hund. of the 4th Regt. this last Regt. are highly spoken of by the Americans, indeed from the manner they speak of them you would suppose them to be Invincibles—the whole of their army were ill dressed, and few of them appeared healthy or well, indeed they seemed to me the poorest looking sett of men I have seen for a long time, their situation and dress may probably have made them appear so ill to me.—seven hundred Rifles were taken and a great many Muskets nearly

3000 stand, & 32 P^s^. Cannon of all descriptions, a great number of Waggons, horses, &^ca^.—

Monday 17^th^ Remained at Detroit but did no duty, saw the American prisoners embarking, many of whom were unwell with fevers & some wounded—poor fellows I fear few of them will ever get home.—All the Vessels from Amherstburgh I believe & those taken at Detroit were taking in prisoners ; but there were not a sufficient number to take them all, and those who were on board were very much crowded, by the Capitulation, as I understand the Regular Troops were to be kept as prisoners of War and the Militia Reg^ts^. were to be sent to Cleveland or Sandusky, from whence they were to return home & not serve against the English again this War.—of the Regulars I suppose there is not more than 400, these I suppose will be sent to Quebec—

Tuesday 18^th^ I crossed the River, went up to my Father's dined there and then went down to Amherstburgh to see Major Chambers with whom I had volunteered to go to River Raizin & Foot of the Rapids, in the Even^g^. I saw General Brock and his Aidecamp Col. M^c^Donnell at Amherstburg—M^r^. Hamilton was down there also ; but as he had embarked and I could not conveniently get on board I did not see him. For want of boats or something else we could not get off this evening for River Raizin—I saw Major Salmon & young M^r^. Rolph M^r^. R. had bought a horse for 5 doll^s^.—some were sold for two doll^s^. I understood from the Indians, who took about three hundred on the Day of the Surrender and the day following, on the American Side—they plundered Knagg's house and a few other houses and took a great deal from them—

Wednesday 19^th^ Amherstburgh Last night or early this morn^g^., the Chippawa, a small Vessel sailed from this, in which was passengers the General and his two Aidecamps,—and M^r^. Hamilton & M^r^. Jarvis ; in the afternoon we got off from Cap^t^. Elliotts for River Raizin, Major Chambers, Cap^t^. M^c^Kee & his son Alex^r^., M^r^. Bap^t^. Barthe & myself with some others

went over in the same boat and landed below Brownstown, Alex M^cKee had his [horse?] cross'd and I had another taken over he had lent me,—we waited some time here, for the Indians to join us, at length *Tecomesé* with a few others came to us—a Gun Boat commanded by M^r. Bender of the 41^st Reg^t. came over—we all that is we Gentlemen embarked in the Gun Boat and got under way—our horses were sent on by land, when we got near the Point au Roche it blew Rather hard and it was thought dangerous to go round the Point, we therefore put into River Huron but how long we staid here I do not know ; for I believe I was a sleep when we left it.

Thursday Morn^g 20^th Got early in the morn^g. to Rocky River. Rained a good deal this morn^g & I believe it did last night but I was under cover during the night and not exposed to it—We got into two houses that were deserted, we made fires in them, and got some breakfast, three other boats were with us here, all under Bender's command—Cap^t. Elliott and his Son Alex. joined us here, the came on horseback with a number of Indians—we most all got horses and Rode to the River Raizin where we arrived about 10 or Eleven OClock A.M. We went towards the Blockhouse but finding that the Blockhouse was open ; and nothing in it, we returned to M^r. Lasselle's where we got Breakfast—some Indians [arrived ?] while we were here, we were still at Breakfast when a message came to us from M^rs. Anderson begging that we would go and prevent the Indians from plundering her house Major Chambers rode off immediately & I followed him as quick as I could we found the Indians had taken a number of things—and were taking every thing valuable they could get hold of. they paid no attention to us whatever when we tried to make them desist. The Hurons were the first to break in & plunder this house and some of them were M^r. Anderson's friends—from this house they went to several other houses and plundered them, old M^rs Knaggs house was among others plundered, some Indians remained about

Anderson's most all day, taking and destroying things. they emptied some flour out in the yard, which they did not want, Col. Elliott was with us at the time we first went to Andersons to prevent the Indians from plundering, but did not go with us—thinking that he would have more influence than Major C—s or myself I went and requested him to go once or twice, I think twice—at last he went, it's true he was unwell ; (but I think he might have gone at first as well as last)—Yet for all the good he did he might as well have staid where he was.—Major C. was much enraged at the behaviour of the Indians, & tried to prevent them from plundering as much as he could. Cap^{t}. M^{c}Kee when he joined us did the same—*Técompsé* the Indian General as he is called, behaved I must say remarkably well, he assisted us very much in trying to prevent the Indians from pillaging ; but the Hurons could not be prevented from taking what they wanted—some Soucks that had begun to plunder were stopp'd by Maj. C.—and they even retur^{d}. some things they had taken, The Indians took a great number of horses on the River—horses they have taken every where, the day of the surrender and the day following I fancy they did not take less than 300 from the people on the Detroit side.—Cap^{t} Elliot who was sent here with a flag of truce on Sunday last was still here—he found Cap^{t}. Brush here who commanded a company of Gentlemen from Ohio, and a number of others with him from some of the corps serving in Detroit, when he saw the letter which was from General Hull the contents of which I know [not?], (but suppose it was an order for him to surrender) he said it was a forgery and Elliott was an impostor, he had Cap^{t}. E— confined and threatened to hang him—some of the Gentlemen in his company interfered and told him they would shoot him if he did, whether he thought it a forgery or not he and all those with him excepting a few sick made off that night, not in any order but as fast as they could get off six or seven of them together in this disorderly manner they left the place—

many of them taking horses with them that they took from the Inhabitants,—who complained very much of them,—when we found this party were so far a head of us that it was no probable we could ever overtake and that even if we should they had nothing with them that was worth going after, it was thought advisable to send back the Indians from this place and not allow them to go to the Foot of the Rapids where we dreaded they would behave in the same shameful manner they had done to day, at this place—some were in consequence of this sent back, and they would have all retur[d]. had not a scoundrel of the name of Amable Bellair (I think was his name,) come and said that he was from the foot of the Rapids, and that when he left it, there were 180 Americans there, that had gone from that place about a mile, and returned, we hardly credited what he said as a Doct[r]. Fairfield a very decent looking man had come from that place with a flag of truce, and said that there were none there but a few sick, as I interpreted I told Bellair who was a frenchman that if he deceived us he would be hung—the Scoundrel still insisted on it, I believe it was then determined that what Indians remained should go there, I was not much with them then ; and did not know well what was to be done, as Major Chambers had requested me to take charge of a boat that was loaded with arms and take it to Amherstburgh, he wrote Col. Procter and I had the dispatches—this night I slept at M[r]. Jérome's where we most all staid ; some Americans slept their also, who were much afraid that the Indians would murder them.—

Friday 21[st] In the morn[g]. Major Chambers told me that Cap[t]. Elliot would take charge of the boat, and wished me to go with him with a flag of truce to the Foot of the Rapids —Doct[r]. Fairfield, & a Cap[t]. Hull left the River Raizin with us, Cap[t]. Hull went in a boat with M[r]. Bender, and Fairfield remained with us—at the River aux Loutre—we took a Canadian as an Interpreter in case we wished to speak to the Indians

—a party of whom were a head of us with Alex^{r}. Elliot—we got to Foot of the Rapids about one or two OClock in the afternoon, the Indians had just began to plunder or began as soon as we got there, but did not take much here, except horses, they took several of these. There were no Americans here but a few that were sick, which belonged to the Army, a party of Yankees had passed that place the day before with 200 head of Cattle—but it was thought they had got out of our reach,—The Blockhouse here Técompsé had set fire to and was burning when we came here, the Inhabitants complained of Brush's company some of whom had stolen their horses and some other things,—we found 77 bbls. pork, 18 of flour & eight or ten of whisky here, which had been left by the American Army, We found no arms I suppose they were hid and some other things also. The Scoundrel Bellair that had told such a falsehood respecting the American troops being at this place, we were going to take with us to Amherstburgh. I took his pistols from him and we considered him as a prisoner but had no one to Guard him, some Indians begged he might be liberated which was done, and the fellow got his pistols again without my knowledge & I could never see him after—In the afternoon M^{r}. Bender arrived with the Gun Boat and two other boats we had before this collected all the water craft we could on the River, we had two boats and some canoes which we began to load, but they were all so leaky except some canoes that we could not make use of them, the Canadians were sett to work and loaded the Gun Boat and two other boats they brought with them—after geting all we could in these, we put what we still had to bring with us in five or six canoes, about 11 or 12 OClock at night we left M^{r}. Baugran's and went down the River with an Intention of going to the Lake I believe ; but after going six or seven miles the men one after another fell asleep & I did the same, whether the boats went a shore or not I cannot say—

Saturday 22^{d} In the morning we were on our way down

the River I think when we woke, a Canadian came down running to us & crying ; he and another had been left behind at the Foot of the Rapids, and we had not missed them, till this one joined us, in passing an Indian camp his comrade was stopp'd and he supposed him murdered by the Indians,—a Maunsy Indian was taken from an Indian Camp, into one of the boats, that had just been stabbed by some Indian of a diff^{t}. nation, we put on shore at Presqu'ile where we got a very good boat in which we put what was in the Canoes, we breakfasted here and then left this place—this day and night we got beyond the River Raisin, nothing remarkable occurred to day—

Sunday 23^{d}.—In the morn^{g}. we got to Point au Roch—the boat I was in was a great way behind the other boats, I then advised Major Chambers to get in another which we did, we left P^{t}. au Roch & got to Amherstburgh about 11 OClock AM—Breakfasted at Col^{l}. Elliotts, then went up to Town, found that Major Chambers mare had been stolen by the Indians during his absence and an Immense number of other horses—were taken by them on this side the River—Dined at Doct^{r}. Richardson's then rode up with Maj— C— he went over to Detroit and I went to my Father's, before he left Amherstburg he had a very serious quarrel with Col. Elliott—

From the 23^{d} to this date the 15th of September I have kept no journal—after my return from the Foot of the Rapids, I found Colonel Procter was acting as Civil Governor at Detroit & Judge Woodward an American Judge acting as his Secretary—Many things have occurred during this short period which I have forgot, we had news that Chicago was taken by the Indians and no one saved but the Command^{g} Officer and his Wife—The Detachment that came up when I did and to which I belong'd left Amherstburgh a few days ago, also some Grenadiers under L^{t}. Bullock to return to Niagara,—Major Chambers returned also, some time since by Land, Col. Procter & M^{r}. Nichol went out to the Foot of the Rapids & returned soon, they went probably to view the Country

as they had no forces with them—Capt. Muir has been commanding officer at Detroit for some time—both my Brothers were doing duty with the Militia there—An auction has been at Detroit where part the Public property taken at the Surrender was sold, Some Waggons of which there was abt. 60 sold very low, they were from 23 to Eighty odd Dollars many other things went very low also—Indians besieging Fort Wayne have sent for assistance & for some days past preparations have been making to go to that place—Last night part of the Expedition left Amherstburgh in a small Vessel and in Boats, they are all under the Command of Capt. Muir a very Galant Officer—Indians have been going for some days past, & a party of Indians abt. 200 in Number who arrived here a few days ago from Mackina under the Direction of Jno. B. Askin, have gone this morng. with Capt McKee—Young Jno. A— is also with them—they went off in great style, had a salute from the Garrison which they returned—The Expedition consisted of abt. 150 of the 41st Regt. 100 of the Militia & a party of Artillery & abt. eight hundred—these it was supposed would be joined by a great number of Indians, allready on their way, and before the place—the whole expedition were off this morng., th Officers Gone are

Capt. Muir, Mr. Bernard, Mr. Hales— } 41st
Alex. Askin, Wm. Hands } Militia.
Lt. Troughton—R. Ary.
Capt. Elliot Comy.
Mr. Dickson—R. Engineers
Col. Caldwell Depy. Qr Mr G—
Col. Elliot Ind. Dept.
Capt. Jacobs—, Wm. Sterling—, Jno. Pike, Js. Little, Nich— Little, Capt. Caldwell. } Militia.
Capt. McKee Do.
Doctr. Richardson Surg.
Jno. Do. Volunteer.

The Salina took part of the Expedition—

The following Diary of Wm. McCay is the property of the officers of the 24th Regiment of Canadian Militia. It is published by their permission, given through Francis Cleary, Esq., of Windsor, Ontario.

DIARY OF WM. McCAY

OF THE TOWNSHIP OF NELSON

[now in the County of Halton, Province of Ontario].

August 1st, 1812.

About this time sixty men were wanted from Queenston Camp, to go to Sandwich to oppose the Americans that had crossed over from Detroit; that number turned out voluntarily amongst whom I was one, and by the fourth we were ready to march. Our officers Capt. Nott, Lieut. Lord, Ens'n Chisholm.

August 4th, 1812.

After receiving our Regimental clothes and taking leave of our friends, our Company consisting of 61 men, besides our officers set off from Queenston Camp, about noon, for Detroit. We were carried in wagons to Fort Erie at which place we arrived about nine o'clock, after a very merry ride.

August 5th, 1812.

We lodged in Fort Erie last night very well, and this forenoon we spent in rambling over the village. The Fort is a very handsome place but the wall is not finished around it, which, if it were, would be very strong. In the evening we marched about four miles up the lake to where the boats lay that we were to go in.

Dated August 6th, 1812.

We were alarmed by the sentries about one o'clock and were soon all under arms. It was expected that the Americans who had seen us march up had formed the design of

following us, but it was a false alarm, and we set off very early. The first place we landed was at a small Island, a little below the mouth of the Grand River, where we found a great quantity of sand cherries. We did not stop long but put into the mouth of the Grand River, forty miles from Fort Erie.

August 7th, 1812.

We slept under the trees on the bank of the river, arose early and set off. We did not land until we came to Patterson's creek about forty miles from the Grand River. Here we were informed that the volunteers from York, some of the 41st Regiment and some militia lay that were to go with us.

August 8th, 1812.

Slept on shore in the best manner we could, two of our Company deserted this morning, James Bycraft and Harvey Thorne. We did not leave this place until 12 o'clock when we set off and came to Long Point in the evening, drew our boats across and put up for the night.

August 9th, 1812.

Arose early this morning and about sun rise were joined by General Brock and six boat loads with troops from Patterson's Creek. We all set off together, having a fair wind till about one o'clock, and then rowed till night, when we landed at Kettle Creek, about six miles below Port Talbot.

August 10th, 1812.

Wet and cold last night, some of us lay in boats and some on the sand. We set off early but the wind blew so hard we were obliged to put into Port Talbot. We covered our baggage from the rain which still continued, and most of us set out to get something to eat, being tired of bread and pork. Five of us found our way to a place where we got a very good

breakfast, bought some butter and sugar and returned. Lay here all day, the wind being high.

August 11th, 1812.

Set off early with a fair wind, but it soon blew so hard we had to land on the beach and draw up our boats, having come 12 or 15 miles. Some of us built camps and covered them with bark to shelter us from the rain which poured down incessantly, but I was obliged to go on guard, wet as I was. Some of our men discovered horse tracks a few miles above us, which we supposed were American horsemen, for we were informed they came within a few miles of Port Talbot.

August 12th, 1812.

We set off before daylight and came on until breakfast time where we stopped at a Long point where we found plenty of sand cherries. They are just getting ripe and very good. We continued our voyage all night, which was very fatiguing, being so crowded in the boats we could not lie down.

August 13th, 1812.

We came to a settlement this morning, the first since we left Port Talbot. The inhabitants informed us the Americans had all retired to their own side of the River, also that there was a skirmish between our troops and them, on their own side, that is the American side of the River. We made no stop only to boil our pork, but kept on until 2 o'clock, when we lay on the beach until morning. Some of the boats with the general went on.

August 14th, 1812.

We landed at Fort Malden about 8 o'clock very tired with rowing, and our faces burned with the sun until the skin came off. Malden is about two miles from the Lake up the River

in which there are several small islands. The banks are low and well cultivated near the river, but a wilderness back from it. Our Company was marched to the Store house where we took out our baggage and dried it and cleaned our guns, were paraded at 11 o'clock, and all our arms and ammunition that was damaged was replaced. We then rambled about the town until evening, when all the troops that were in Amherstburg were paraded on the Commons. They were calculated at 8 or 9 hundred men.

August 15th, 1812.

Arose early and set off in our boats for Sandwich, we landed about two miles below the town, and then scampered off to the orchards with our haversacks, where we got apples and pears as many as we could wish, and then marched up to the town in good order, commanded by Major Chambers. We found it crowded with whites and Indians all in arms. We are told we are to attack them (The Americans) to-morrow, and we all appeared well agreed and in high spirits. We were paraded in the evening, and while we were in ranks cannonading began between our batteries and the American, fort and batteries, and continued about an hour and a half. We were about one and a half miles from the scene of action, and our men appeared anxious to be engaged. The Americans when they came over pitched their camp about a mile and a half above Sandwich, but plundered around the adjacent country, although they never entered Sandwich, but they carried off cattle and provisions in abundance.

August 16th, 1812.

By daylight we were all under arms and soon began to cross the river, while the cannons began to roar again. The place where we crossed was about three miles below the Fort of Detroit. We landed in the boats, and effected our landing without any opposition, as we came over we formed in order.

The 41st Regiment in front, to the number of three or four hundred, Capt. Hatt's Company next (ours), York militia next, and the militia from other places followed, while the Indians, dressed in the most warlike manner, were all around us. Soon as most of us were over, we marched up through the town expecting to be fired upon every minute. The Indians told us they saw three or four hundred men marching down in order to attack our rear. The houses in the lower part of the town were most of them deserted, and the Indians broke into them, as we marched along we saw the best of goods and furniture destroyed or carried off by these frightful wretches. We halted in a little vale about a half a mile below the Fort. The firing ceased which had been kept up very briskly, upwards of two hours, and our officers saw the flag of truce go up from the fort over to our two batteries. They likewise sent one into the Fort, and all the troops were delivered up to us as prisoners of war. We then marched into the Fort but soon returned and were placed around it, our sentries relieved theirs, and the American flag came down while the British was hoisted amid the shouts of the whole Army. According to the best accounts I can get, there were between 2500 and 3000 made prisoners of war, amongst whom not more than 400 were regulars. The regulars were put on board the vessel several of which lay in the river. They were all in a very bad condition, both dirty and ragged, owing, they told us, to their marching a great distance, through a wilderness, and not receiving their pay or clothing. I never saw such a day in my life, such a hurry and confusion. We had not time to eat anything, except a bite of bread we had brought with us for we had double our number of prisoners to take care of.

August 17th, 1812.

Most of us had been on guard, in or around the Fort. Being relieved this morning, my comrad Jno. Ireland, took

a ramble through the town and garrison. It is a matter of surprise to us to obtain such a strong fortification defended by double our numbers, without the loss of a man, there being only one sergeant of the Royal Artillery wounded. I saw only seven men killed in the Fort, but I understand there were several more. It was a disagreeable sight to behold them, one was shot through the middle, another's head was dashed to pieces. In the afternoon we crossed over to Sandwich, got our napsacks which we had left behind and went in a boat down to one of the vessels loaded with prisoners.

August 18th, 1812.

I spent last night the most uncomfortable of any since I left home, for we lay in the boat alongside of the vessels. The boat was full of us and leaked very fast. I lay on a wheel of the carriage of the artillery, wet and cold and very fatigued. We then went on board the Nancy, a merchant rig which was full of prisoners, before we came on. We lay opposite Sandwich, waiting until the other vessels were ready to sail.

August 19th, 1812.

We dropped down the river to Fort Malden, where we left one of our Company, Thos. Corner, in the hospital. He has been sick several days.

August 20th, 1812.

It rained the most of this day very fast, we were obliged to stay on deck without any shelter through it all. In the afternoon some of our men were ordered on shore as we still lay opposite Amherstburg to procure provisions and wood for our journey.

August 21st, 1812.

We dropped down the river a short distance, but the wind being contrary we were obliged to cast anchor. Several of

the prisoners were taken out of our vessel, and put on board the Queen Charlotte, which was to sail in Company with us.

August 22nd, 1812.

Very early this morning a gun was fired from the Charlotte, the signal for sailing. We immediately weighed anchor and set sail, we ran on lively until noon, when the wind squalling we lay beating on the lake until night and then cast anchor among several small islands.

August 23rd, 1812.

This was a very pleasant day and we purchased some green corn and young potatoes from an old frenchman who lives on one of the islands, which was a great rarity to us all. The wind raising about 10 o'clock we began to set sail, a matter of great joy to us all for we were heartily tired of our present mode of living.

August 24th, 1812.

The wind keeping up we sailed on very well, but the other vessels we were in company with not being able to keep up with us, were frequently obliged to lower our sail.

August 25th, 1812.

This morning we perceived we had passed Long Point, which was almost out of sight. I was very unwell to-day owing to our way of living, being up at night, for we mounted twenty guards every night who must all be awake continually, and then sleeping in the hot sun, likewise our provisions were very bad, having got wet, the bread especially so. In the evening as we drew near Fort Erie, we were informed that an armistice was concluded between the contending powers, and that four days notice was to be given before hostilities could be commenced. This news pleased us very much, we were in hopes of getting home to see our friends.

August 26th, 1812.

We lay at anchor in sight of Fort Erie all night, and in the morning about 9 o'clock came along side of a wharf, the prisoners were landed under a strong guard. Here I had the first sight of General Hull. After some time we got in order for marching, Capt. Hatt's Company was the advance guard, while the York volunteers guarded the prisoners and brought up the rear. We marched on pretty briskly at first but laying still so long we soon became tired. We came to Chippawa about sunset, most of us got our supper at a tavern, and our Company lodged in a barn, the best place we had for some time.

August 27th, 1812.

An alarm was made about 12 o'clock last night and all the men that were able were under arms. We were marched up the river a mile while it rained pretty fast. It was expected the Americans were attempting to cross the river, by their movements, but it proved to be nothing. We tarried the remainder of the night in a store house a mile and a half above Chippawa, but it being wet and cold we slept but little. My Comrad, Ireland, has been very unwell for several times and this morning I made some tea, which we brought from Detroit, and we had a comfortable breakfast. It took us a long time to get us in order for marching and we came but slowly, so it was 12 o'clock ere we reached Queenston. We were not allowed to stop at the Camp, except those who were not able to go on. By the middle of the afternoon we arrived at Fort Niagara. It appeared as though the whole town moved toward us. Several of our friends met us there who were much enjoyed to see us returned safe. We were much fatigued and covered with dust, but our officers treated us very liberally, and we got in the baggage wagons and returned to Queenston in high spirits. The Americans have built a great number of tents opposite Queenston but it is said

there are not many troops arrived. Some deserters have come over lately and brought the intelligence.

August 28th, 1812.

Slept very well last night in the Officer's tent, and after getting a good breakfast feel much refreshed. We are told that we shall be dismissed in a few days, and return home which pleases us very well. I received two letters this evening from my brother Moses, the other from my wife. Our friends are all well and express much satisfaction on the success of the expedition we were engaged in.

August 29th, 1812.

I have caught cold and do not feel well and my Comrad Ireland was put in the hospital in Queenston.

August 30th, 1812.

We were paraded and our arms examined this morning. They still give us encouragement of our going home. The afternoon was cool and rainy. I went to the hospital and tarried all night.

August 31st, 1812.

We were paraded at 9 o'clock, and again at 11, all in marching order, having our napsacks and blankets on our backs. Several of our Company have taken sick since we returned from Detroit.

September 1st, 1812.

Some of our Company were put on duty for the first time since we returned. Our stated times of parade are at sunrise, at 9 o'clock and at 3. We learned that Major Chambers marched from Detroit to Fort Miami, which he found was evacuated. He found between 70 and 80 barrels of pork and the same quantity of flour. He destroyed the

place and was going to Fort Wayne, but was recalled and is now returned to Camp.

September 2nd, 1812.

We understand that Capt. Durand has come to camp, who is to receive our arms and clothing, before which we could not be dismissed. I was on evidence to-day on trial of James Vycraft, who deserted from Pattersons Creek, the court martial was held at the Camp but they did not finish the sentence.

September 3rd, 1812.

I arose very unwell and the day was very disagreeable, raining most part of the time, and our tent will not keep it out, being covered with boards. We expect to be dismissed every day, and we wait very impatiently for the time.

September 4th, 1812.

The rain still continues and I felt still unwell, I took up my abode in the hospital, a more comfortable situation. This evening news came that the Americans had given the four days' notice, and they are now ready for war again, so that our hopes of going home are now at an end.

September 5th, 1812.

All is in a bustle again. It is reported that all the militia are sent for. I continue in the hospital but do not get hearty having but indifferent attendance.

September 6th, 1812.

A fine pleasant Sabbath morning, but every day is alike to us. The Doctor informs us that all who cannot perform their duty are to be sent to the hospital at Niagara, the most of us are not willing to go, but would rather stay at the

Camp in the hopes of soon being better. The report is the General has arrived at Niagara, also that the British have taken one of the American vessels loaded with 500 barrels of salt.

September 7th, 1812.

The first object we took notice of this morning was the Americans striking their tents, but we could not tell where they went to. The inhabitants of Queenston are removing their property back into the Country as fast as possible. This evening several of us left the hospital and returned to Camp.

September 8th, 1812.

It rained considerable last night. I found myself very unwell this morning, small parties of the 49th Regiment are marching up, we believe, for Fort Erie, and as the armistice is out at 12 o'clock we expect to hear the cannons every hour.

NOTE. The Canadian Gazette (*without date*)

Militia Orders.

The following officers of the late 6th Batallion of Halton are permitted to retire, namely,

Lieut. Col. Wm. McCay retaining rank.
Major Alex. Campbell, with rank of Lieut. Col.
Capt. Alex. McNabb, „ „ „ Major.

His Excellency takes this opportunity to express to Lieut. Col. McKay the sense he entertains of the value of his services, in the militia of this province, dating from last war.

De Rottenburg, Colonel,
Adj. Gen. of Militia.

Archives, C. 728, p. 111.

Establishment of Officers & Men required for His Majesty's Armed Vessels on Lakes Erie and Huron proposed by Captain Hall Senior Officer thereon October 2d, 1812.

		Captains.	1st Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.	Masters.	Surgeon.	Pursers.	Boatswain.	Gunner.	Carpenter.	Masters Mates.	Midshipmen.	Surgeons Mate.	Boatswains Mates.	Gunners Mates.	Carpenters Mates.	Quarter Masters.	Armourers.	Able Seamen.	Ordinary Do.	Landsmen.	Boys.	Volunteers.	Marines. Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummer.	Rank & File.
Queen Charlotte.	Proposed . . .	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	...	2	1	1	2	1	20	20	14	6	...	1	1	1	14
	On Board at present .	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	13	12	...	1	1	3	1	29
Lady Prevost.	Proposed . . .	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	10	10	10	2	...	1	1	1	8
	On Board at present .	...	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	...	2	...	1	1	20
Detroit.	Proposed . . .	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	8	8	6	2	...	1	1	1	6
	On Board at present .	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	4	...	...	1	1	...	9
General Hunter.	Proposed . . .	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	6	6	4	2	...	1	1	1	6
	On Board at present .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	...	1	1	1	1	14

Christo Myers Lt Col DQMG

Archives, C. 695, p. 89.

Return of Prizes made by His Majestys Vessells on Lake Erie. &c^a

Nature	Remarks
1. Sloop Commencement, Captured by the Boats of His Majestys Ship Queen Charlotte, Captain Hall off Fort Erie 27 June 1812 Cargo 12 Barrells of Salt.	This Vessell taken into His Majestys service last fall and now lies in Chippawa Creek.—The Salt was sold for 7 Dollars p^r. Barrell and Captain Hall will acco^t. for the Amo^t. to the Captors.
2. Three Bales of cloth taken on Board His Majestys Ship Queen Charlotte Cap^t. Hall. This Cloth belonged to an American Citizen of the United States, and was ship'd on Board the Queen Charlotte before the declaration of War by the U.S. was known at Fort Erie—	This Cloth was put into the Kings Store at Amherstburgh by Cap^t. Hall and by order of Col^n. St. George it was valued by Militia Officers & Merchants of this place, the valuation of it by the Officers &c accompanies this report and is marked One, Great part of this Cloth has been issued by order of different Commd^s. Officers, for Clothing the Seamen, Troops, & Militia. And Cap^t. Hall particularly requests that he may be instructed how he is to account to the owners or Captors—
3. Twelve Boats and Batteaux taken the Day after the Battle of Monguaga by the Boats of His Majestys Ship Queen Charlotte Captain Hall and His Majestys Brig General Hunter Lieut. Rollette, in these Boats was retaken Two wounded Soldiers of 41^st Regm^t. and a few stands of Arms which was appropriated for Ships use.	These Boats were taken into the Quartermaster Generals Department and most of them sent off with Prisoners of War to Ciauga after the surrender of Detroit, And it is the oppinion of the Undersignd Officers that the lowest value of which they could set is £8 p^r. boat.
4. One Large Boat captured in the off Fort Erie by the Boats of His Majestys Schooner Lady Prevost Lieu^t. Barwis, and H.M.S Queen Charlotte Cap^t. Hall in sight.	The Cargo of this Boat is in the Hands of the Officers of the Commissarate at Fort George. The Boat lies on the Rocks at Fort Erie, a return of which accompanies this mark N°. 2. Lieu^t. Barwis has already sent the acco^t. of this Vessell to Col^n. Myers.
5. The Cayauga Packet captured by the Boats of His Majestys Brig General Hunter Lieu^t. Rollette Comd^r. on the Day Lieu^t. Barwis of the Navy and a Detachment of the 41^st Regm^t. under Lieu^t. Hailes and intitled to share in this Capture as they had embark'd on board the Gen^l. Hunter for the purpose of assisting, as appears to me, before the surrender of that Vessell, but Lieu^t. Rollette is certainly to be considered as the Commander who made the Capture.	Such information as Lieu^t. Rollette has furnished me, of this Vessell & Cargo, accompanies this and is mark'd N°. 3.
6. A large raft intended for a floating Battery picked up in the River Detroit by the Guard Boats of His Majestys Ship Queen Charlotte, on the 1^st August 1812.	This raft has been taken by Captain Dixon of the Royal Engineers, his receipt for the same accompanies this return.

Geo. B. Hall Comd. Provl. N^y.

Archives, C. 1170, p. 51.

G. O. [Quebec 6th February 1813.]

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has the highest gratification in announcing to the Troops under his Command and particularly to the Division serving in Upper Canada, that he has had the honor of receiving from His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, and from the Right Honorable The Earl of Batherst, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretary's of State, the Command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to announce to the Army, the entire approbation of His Royal Highness of the Zeal and Gallantry displayed by the Troops Regulars and Militia in the Capture of the Fort of Detroit and the American Army under Brigadier Gen[l]. Hull, and His Excellency directs that the following extract of the Official Despatch be inserted in General Orders, and read at the Head of Corps under Arms:

"I am commanded by His Royal Highness to desire you to take the earliest opportunity of conveying His Royal Highness's approbation of the able, judicious, & decisive conduct of Major General Brock, and of the Zeal and Spirit manifested by Colonel Procter and the other Officers, as well as of the intrepidity of the Troops Regulars and Militia under the Command of Major General Brock.

By the united exertions of this little Army, the enterprize of the American Army has been defeated, the territories of His Majesty in Upper Canada have been secured, and on the Enemy's Fort at Detroit, important to that Security, the British Standard has been happily placed.

You will inform Major Gen[l]. Brock that His Royal Highness, taking into consideration all the difficulties by which Major General Brock was surrounded, from the time of the invasion of the Province by the American Army under the

Command of General Hull, and the singular judgment, firmness, skill, and Courage, with which he was enabled to Surmount them so effectually has been pleased to appoint him an Extra Knight of the most Honorable Order of the Bath.

His Royal Highness has observed with great Satisfaction, that the co-operation of the Indian Nations, led on by Colonel Elliott and Captain M^c^Kee, has been marked by steadiness and Order, and that they treated their Prisoners with Humanity; Such conduct is highly Creditable to the Officers who Commanded them, and to the System which has been adopted under your direction.

Archives, C. 1172, p. 125.

Adjutant General's Office.

G.O. Quebec 25th Feb^y^, 1815.

. . . . . .

N^o^. 2

The Commander of the Forces has been pleased to direct a distribution to be made to those entitled to share therein, of the proceeds of the Prize property Captured from the Enemy at Detroit and in its Neighbourhood in August 1812

Each Privates share being Three Pounds Currency for the first dividend.—

. . . . . .

(Signed) Edward Baynes,
Adjut^t^. General N.A.

THE

WARS OF THE GULLS;

AN

HISTORICAL ROMANCE.

IN THREE CHAPTERS.

CHAP. I. *Shewing how, and why, and with whom the Gulls went to war.*

CHAP. II. *Shewing how the Gulls make the deep to boil like a pot.*

CHAP. III. *Shewing how a certain doughty General of the Gulls goes forth to play the game of* HULL-GULL *in Upper Canada.*

" And from the pinnacle of glory,
" Falls headlong into purgatory."

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED AT THE DRAMATIC REPOSITORY,

Shakespeare Gallery.

1812.

THE WARS OF THE GULLS

CHAPTER I.

Shewing how, and why, and with whom the Gulls went to war.

YE that have listened with astonishment to the ancient battles in Grecian song of the Frogs and Mice, and who have dilated your jaws with consternation at the red slaughter of the Pigmies and the Cranes ; you are invited once more to expand your mouths and once more to erect your ears at the recital of deeds unexampled in history, unparallelled in fiction, unattempted in prose or rhyme, and utterly unknown, unseen and unheard of—save in the *Wars of the Gulls*.

It was on a foggy afternoon, such as Virginians are accustomed to counteract with a *mint julep*, and such as cloudy heads find congenial to cogitation ; that the Sage of Montpelier, the commander in chief of the armies of the Gulls, retired to his lolling-chair to ponder on the destinies of the nation. The declaration of war, by virtue of which the whole nation of Gulls were to pounce *unguibus et rostro* upon the unprotected heads of the *Bulls*, their lawfully appointed enemies, was in his hand. A map of British America was under his feet, blotted and defaced from carving ; but accurately divided as if Ellicot had drawn the lines from celestial observation. The margins and spaces usually blank because unexplored, were copiously filled with the names of their future dignitaries, the favourites of their puissant commander. Here was a viceroy of Labrador, and there was a collector of customs on McKenzie's River. A victorious general was military governor over the fragments of Quebec,

while an uncouth looking colonel was plenipo. to the Dog-ribbed Indians. "Who," said the chief of the Gulls, as he cast his eye over his dependancies, "who can like me put his thumb on a whole continent at once? What potentate so colossal that in bestriding his empire, he can cool one toe upon the north pole, while he warms the other at the southern-most cape in Florida? These are the true limits of my dominions; yes, I am to *have Canada*, or Felix Grundy is no prophet, and William Widgery is an unprincipled deceiver. Take Canada, say they, before the ice breaks up, and as for the rest it may be taken at any time for the ice never breaks up. Plant but a standard in Canada and the subjects of oppression will rush by thousands to receive the oath of allegiance, and to become incorporated with the great nation of the Gulls. A few weeks more and my myrmidons shall be scouring the wilderness and beating the bushes, from Kingston to lake Winnipeg. No need of more recruits, for the renegadoes of the fur trade, the scape-goats of British oppression, shall come over in swarms to join the invincible standard, and daily add new Gulls to the conquering legion. No need of provisions, for the lakes have fish, and the woods are teeming with the delicious flesh of bears and prairie dogs. No need of clothing, for the capture of every trading hut will furnish furs for a regiment, and the spoils of the forest will be a noble substitute for ragged shirts and antedeluvian breeches. No need of pay, for the warlike and successful troops shall receive their fame in regular installments, and coin their wages in cents at the *embouchure* of Coppermine river. Meanwhile the happy, the enlightened nation of the Gulls shall squat under their vines and fig trees and snuff up in every gale the prowess of their brethren. No odious accumulation of taxes shall at present cast a cloud on the brilliant prospect of my second election. No building of ships and fortifications shall belie the established character of a frugal and penurious administration. The sovereign

people shall be set at rest on the ground of expense, and while a weekly bulletin announces the capture of a swamp or the fall of a log-house, they shall exult in the glorious fortune which made them Gulls, and wonder how a government can go to war so cheap!"

Such were the plans and ponderings which the recent declaration of war had lighted up within the cranium of the head of the nation. But it was not to so *narrow a sphere* that the effects of this portentous declaration were confined. At one and the same moment it was spreading uproar throughout the continent, and wafting dismay and consternation across the Atlantic. In Great Britain its consequences were almost simultaneous with its creation. Many weeks before the news of it could reach that country, before it could even be lisped by any imprudent functionary in France, its overwhelming effects began to burst forth in the fast anchored isle on every side. *Out* went the ministry *en masse*, as if they had been dislodged from their seats by a clap of the "red artillery of heaven." The chancellor of the exchequer was put to death without time to say his neck verse, and the Prince Regent himself, with his foot on the throne of his fathers, was about to suffer the same fate, had he not luckily bethought himself of the great example of Governor Gerry of Massachusetts, and sought instantaneous refuge behind a proclamation. Even the crazy old king, insulated from the world and worn out as he was both in body and mind, was observed on a sudden to become remarkably unruly among his nurses, and had a paroxysm of cholic the subsequent morning.

CHAPTER II.

Shewing how the Gulls make the deep to boil like a pot.

In the harbour of New York lay at anchor Commodore John Rogers, having the redoubtable navy of the Gulls under his command. This is not the John Rogers who suffered martyrdom in popery times at Smithfield, and was followed to the stake by a squadron of children, respecting the number of whom it is problematical whether they were *nine* or *ten*. The worthy Commodore was never like to experience any difficulty in numbering his squadron, for it was a fixed maxim with the Gulls that no ships at all were better than a cumbersome navy. Nevertheless as they had once been an *aquatic* tribe and were generally ranked among *water fowls*, it was thought expedient to make one more experiment to ascertain whether they had lost by long disuse the art of swimming. Accordingly the gallant naval armament weighed anchor and stretched out of the harbour, while the necks of the Gulls stretched after them from every shore. Scarcely had the squadron passed through the Narrows and commenced their track upon the ocean, leaving the highlands of Neversink beneath the surface of the deep; when a tremendous and long continued firing which seemed to render the very rocks and shores unsafe within the wind of its commotion, was heard off various points of the coast of Long Island. One frigate, two frigates, three frigates; some whole and some dismasted, were seen at different times towing each other into the harbour of New York.[1] This proved a glorious triumph for the Gulls, abating a slight mistake of place, as the prizes arrived not at New York but at one of the harbours

[1] See the Gull papers of the time.

in the Moon, where they were regularly entered by Mr. Jefferson's collector.

Now there sailed in the squadron of the Commodore, a small but venomous sloop of war yclept the Hornet. This vessel having strayed perchance from the fleet, had the luck to fall in with a large frigate some dozen times its own magnitude, called the Belvidere, with whom she "*had a slight brush.*" This bully frigate finding it impossible to float before the buzzing and brushing of the Hornet, was glad to crowd all sail and make the best of her escape from so troublesome a pursuer. Tell it not in Halifax, said the Gull papers, publish it not in the streets of London, that a British frigate ran away from an American sloop of war. This "*brush*" however was not without serious consequences, for it broke the Commodore's leg, who was at that time in some part of the same ocean, and caused two midshipmen and half a dozen sailors to die for grief; some having broken hearts, and the rest broken heads. Albeit, this was a glorious triumph for the Gulls.

The Jamaica fleet consisting of 150 sail of richly laden merchantmen, was the next fruit of this successful expedition. Out of the number of this fleet one hundred and one sail, thirty-one sail, twenty-one sail were successively captured,[1] making in all 153 sail. The country would have overflowed with West India goods, enough to last even to the end of the war, had not these merchantmen unluckily been ordered for the Moon, instead of being sent into New York. Nevertheless, though the Gulls got no rum and molasses, yet they had *triumph* in abundance.

Meanwhile this great and dignified people were not unmindful of the earnest and repeated calls of their clamorous papers to scour the ocean with privateers. In a short time the Argus opened its hundred eyes and the Wily Reynard

[1] Vide Gull papers.

was racking his brains for stratagems of plunder ; the Marengo prepared to triumph in the cause of France, and Madison and Jefferson and Bona. having each a gun in his tail and fifty tatterdemalions armed with tomahawks and speaking trumpets, commenced an indiscriminate havoc among vessels which could not fight, of all kindreds, and nations, and tongues. The ocean became a mere theatre of indiscriminate depredation, and the moonlight was obscured by the cloud of prizes daily arriving. The ghost of Robert Kidd awoke from the slumber of ages, where he had been composed to rest by the soporific influence of the gallows ; he first rubbed his eyes, yawned, and asked what year of our Lord it was ; then clearing his pipes he struck up the old fashioned ditty " When I sailed, when I sailed," and the whole posse comitatus of long winded privateersmen bellowed lustily to the chorus.

It ill beseems the impartial chronicler of events to rake up invidious distinctions out of a mingled chaos of merit, prowess and invincibility. Had each privateersman a dozen epics appropriated to his special honour, they would fall infinitely short of the glory due to his valorous atchievements. But we should be mere logs of wood in point of stupidity, and deserve everlasting oblivion for our much belaboured history, did we omit to signalize one of these gallant barks, which far outstripped the rest in danger and in triumph, to wit, the vessel *that took the Plumper.*

In Boston harbour lay the empress Catharine of Russia, who having been for some time in the keeping of his Exhonour the cidevant Lieut. Governor of that state ; on a sudden bethought herself to return as a letter of marque, in a peaceable manner, to her own Muscovian dominions. It was not to be expected that an amiable and unprotected female, while pursuing her way quietly on the ocean and showing hostility to no one save the little fishes, should have experienced violence or rudeness from any ill bred traveller of the deep. So it chanced, however, that an unmannerly

boor of the family of Bulls, named Plumper, happening to fall in with the royal beauty, had the impudence to exhibit some airs of familiarity, not to be endured by one of her courtly birth and rank. The presumptuous gallant was not aware that he was taking freedoms with the real Semiramis of the North, until an astonishing box in the ear from the redoubtable fist of her highness *plumped* him headlong into Marblehead in a state of half decomposition, leaving an awful lesson to all audacious clowns and aspiring boobies, that

> "No course so wild or so infeasible,
> "As that of force to win a Jezebel."

It is with grief that we must here acknowledge that a melancholy and sombre cloud hangs over the brilliancy of the remainder of this splendid affair. In the course of a few days following, even while the Marblehead *Gulls were triumphing* in the expectation of an unprecedented prize, the appalling news arrived that the Catharine was in odious thraldom at Halifax, striving to dry her tears with the faint hope of deliverance from some Canadian knight errant! Through what untoward juggle of the destines so cruel an event could have happened is utterly unknown. The only ray of light hitherto shed on this obscure subject by the oracles of the Gulls is, that it was somehow or other owing to *the d–d tory federalists*.

About these times a very brilliant and unexpected event created great astonishment among the Gulls. A certain frigate called the Constitution, which the Gulls had always hated for her name, and which they had loaded with curses on the very day of her launch; put to sea in quest of adventures. She had the good fortune in a short time to fall in with an enemy of some importance, and after a short but energetic battle, consigned him to the custody of David Jones, and came home to tell the news. The Gulls, at this intelligence, looked aghast at each other, and earnestly

inquired if there was *no catch*. Finding that, unlike their customary news, this was a clear matter of fact, they fell to loggerheads as to the mode of communicating it to the public. One thought it best to give the simple statement without comment, while another[1] insisted on misstating, by one half, the forces of the ship, alleging, that where there was no *lie*, there was no genuine *triumph for the Gulls*.

[1] Vide Aurora.

CHAPTER III.

Shewing how a certain doughty General of the Gulls goes forth to play the game of HULL-GULL *in Upper Canada,*

" And from the pinnacle of glory,
" Falls headlong into purgatory."

WHILE these portentous and unprecedented events were transacting in various regions of the terraqueous globe, and alarming the human race at the probable return of chaos, or at least of the iron age; a cabinet council of all the nobles and dignitaries of the Gulls, was summoned in the capitol of their august commander, at the seat of government. Never since the Miltonian synod was such a council convoked; never was witnessed such an assemblage of faces, grave with unutterable conceptions; of heads distended even to bursting with the volume of their immeasurable projects; never were heard such torrents of overpowering rhetoric, and such flashings of intuitive and supernatural sapience, as burst forth from every elbow chair, when the great Gull of the nation, the grand Mo-gull of his idolaters, brought out for their consideration the solemn and important question—How is Canada to be taken?

A hurricane of schemes and projects, the least of which would for wisdom have distanced the son of Laertes, were ushered on the carpet and backed by a volley of unanswerable arguments. One maintained that Canada should be carried by instantaneous assault, another that it should be circumvented by stratagem. One was for shutting up the god of war in the bowels of a wooden horse and sending him thus *securely mounted* into the centre of Quebec; another was for drying up the St. Lawrence as Cyrus dried up the Euphrates

when he took Babylon. One more cruel than the rest would have given the signal to Widgery to make his descent upon the frontier territory at once, while others thought it more prudent to wait for the arrival of one of Bonaparte's generals. Many were for equipping a fleet of gun boats and transports loaded with Kentucky volunteers, who were to be landed at the mouth of Columbia river, and after a forced march across the rocky mountains were to attack the enemy at a quarter where they were least expected. All these sage opinions however were obliged to give way, when the great Mo-gul himself with a look of gravity and consequence never to be imitated, assured the assembly, that on the maturest consideration, he was resolved to take Canada *by Proclamation.* "By Proclamation," said he, "my illustrious predecessor defended this extensive region during a long and warlike reign of eight years, and brought the belligerent powers of Europe to his feet. By Proclamation I have commenced this great and perilous war, and by Proclamation I will carry victory into the very chimney corners of the enemy!"

A general grin of approbation gave proof incontestible that the weighty sentence of the chief had carried conviction home to every stomach. The whole cabinet was resolved into a proclaiming committee, and after a session of six weeks, with no other assistance than a file of the *Moniteur*, that stupendous Proclamation was engendered, which was to carry jeopardy and dismay from fort Churchill to Halifax. It was for some time debated whether the Proclamation should be sent alone, or attended by an escort; but at length it was determined that just for form's sake, a regiment or two under the command of a valiant general, well known on the borders of Canada, should attend the mammoth production into that country; and that in case of any unforeseen difficulty, they should call for advice and direction upon their trusty cidevant cabineteer Barnabas Bidwell, and other confidential friends of the great Mo-gul, resident in that country.

Every one now admired the deep policy of the great Mogul, who, a long time previous to the invasion of Canada, had suffered his trusty associates Bidwell, Gannett, and others, to make a generous sacrifice of their reputation at home, that they might qualify themselves to reside with better grace in the country of their enemies, and to make gradual preparation for the reception of the victorious Proclamation, by teaching the illiterate natives how to read it, when it should arrive.

In the summer of 1812, this gallant Proclamation set out from Washington and without any material accident arrived at Detroit. Immediate preparations were made for a descent upon the enemy's country, and on the 12th of July the general and his Proclamation attended by the Tippecanoe boys, the Ohio militia, the Michigan raccoon catchers and a band of music, were all disembogued upon the opposite shore. It is here impossible to describe the alarm and trepidation and uproar which spread among the astonished natives, as this terrific phalanx advanced toward their devoted settlements;

> "The dogs did bark, the children screamed,
> "Up flew the windows all
> "And every soul cried well a day!
> "As loud as they could bawl."

The women fled in crowds from the potent general, notwithstanding his assurances that he came there "to find enemies not to *make them.*"

So great and so universal was the consternation that in a short time the whole settlement was evacuated, and the victorious general took quiet possession of a garison of dogs, cats and spiders. The flag of the Gulls was spliced to an old pine stump and the conquering army sat down to consume their bread and cheese in the very heart of the "land debateable." The Proclamation was now put in complete repair and a contract was made to have it transported with its appendages to fort Malden. It was apprehended that the garison of that fortress might discover some aversion to the

great state engine of their enemies, and therefore various advanced parties were sent to reconnoitre the intermediate ground, to remove any obstacles in the way, and to get every thing in readiness for the immediate and forcible occupation of the fort.

It is an unalienable prerogative of him who writes histories to pass judgment on the events which he describes, and to acquaint the ignorant public, not only how things have been, but also how they should have been. Many a disastrous campaign would have been brilliantly successful had it been conducted by the historian instead of the general; and many an empire owes its birth or decay to the trivial circumstance that it was not coeval with a hawk eyed critic or antiquarian. The author of the present narrative can discern with half an eye that the invasion of Canada was not conducted with that accuracy and discretion which has usually marked the movements of the Gulls. He is of opinion that an instantaneous attack should have been made upon the fort, and that the Proclamation should have been tumbled in headlong among the petrified garrison, before they could recover from the surprize of the onset. But the unlucky destinies had ordered it otherwise, and many precious days and nights were wasted in achievements, which although full of glory to the actors in them; contributed nothing to the grand object of the expedition. Some have foolishly asserted that their delay was owing to the want of gun carriages, provisions and ammunition; but others more acquainted with cabinet mysteries say that their instructions forbade them to act until they could effect cooperation with Barnabas Bidwell, in such a manner as to attack the garrison on one side, while Barnabas marched up his school to the assault on the other. However wise this scheme might have been, it certainly procrastinated the capture of the Canadian fort.

Meanwhile the Gulls who remained quietly roosting at home, were not to be baulked of their *triumph*. Although

Fort Malden was not captured in reality, yet in the newspapers it was taken a thousand times. The whole genus clapped their sides in exultation and croaked out "Glory, Glory to the heroes of Tippecanoe!" A village of log houses in the state of Ohio was brilliantly illuminated with pine torches, and the only entire suit of clothes the town could boast was sacrificed to the laudable ambition of burning king George in effigy. In short all those Gulls who were remote from the scene of hostility puffed up their sides, looked big and terrible, and assailed the enemy at a distance with a shower of reproaches and war resolutions.

At the same time the Army, although Fort Malden had not yet been prostrated before their terrific *looks*, did not remain inactive. If episodes were a part of the plan of this history, the reader would not fail to be astonished, with such accounts of desperate deeds done by individuals, or by small detachments from the army, as would make each particular hair to stand erect on his head, and would elicit his benedictions upon the stars for not making him a Canadian. It would then be known how one of the raccoon catchers, after being tumbled from his horse, run down an Indian in a fair chase and left him stretched upon the ground, a scalpless warning to his tawny brethren to beware how they burnt their fingers in this war of extermination. It would then be seen how an army of eight hundred sheep capitulated to a force of one half their number, and how the victors returned in triumph loaded with trophies, having each man a sheep on his back. It would then be seen how various detachments of the grand army penetrated far into the woods even beyond the shelter of the Proclamation; and there bravely challenged the enemy to the combat, but finding that nothing appeared to oppose them except the trees, they turned about and marched back without the loss of a man. It would then be seen how certain of the militia displayed an heroic contempt of death, which would have done honour to veterans, by

declaring, as they ran away, that " they had rather be killed by their officers than by those d—d Indians."

It had never been dreamt of by the sages who got up the Gull Proclamation, that it would befall this engine of war to be pitted against one of its own description ; or that the enemy could possibly understand an art which was thought peculiar to the great nation. So it fell out, however, that while the army were wantonly jeopardizing the strong holds of Malden, and preparing their stomachs for dinners out of the pockets of their enemies ; the very serious news arrived that a powerful Proclamation, rating an equal force with their own, and manned and equipped " for all contingencies," had been fitted out by the governor of Upper Canada, and was rapidly advancing against them, under a furious escort of Bulls and Indians. This intelligence was as unexpected as it was overwhelming. To remain and abide the brunt of battle, to confront these mighty and exterminating Proclamations in dubious fray and ruinous assault ; would have engendered a scene of sanguinary slaughter unprecedented in the annals of civilized warfare. Besides, the commander of the Gullic army, by the words of his own manifesto, had come there " to look down opposition," not to fight it. And as his force was but the vanguard of a much greater, it was evidently unfair to dose them with a battle calculated for ten times their number. On these weighty considerations it was determined by the general to abandon his precarious situation, and make the best of his way *back again* to the territories he had left. The only difficulty that laboured in his mind was, to imagine how the Gulls would ever be able to *make a triumph* out of a precipitate flight before the enemy. But at last, having quieted himself with the sagacious reflection,

" That when a fight becomes a chase
" Those win the day that win the race,"

he instantly gave orders for every mother's son to make the best of his way to the side of the river where he belonged.

We now behold the redoubtable army of the North West, after having invaded Canada, *taken all of it that was worth taking*, and effected a masterly retreat homeward; at last quietly encamped upon their own dung hill at Detroit. It was confidently expected that hostilities in this quarter would cease, and that no more would be heard of the din of arms, until the god of war should light up the flame of discord in the east, and hurl the firebrands of devastation about the ears of the astonished Quebeckers. But all attempts at pacification were vain and hopeless, notwithstanding that John Bull had been on his marrow bones at the capitol, earnestly begging an armistice to gain a moment's breath from his merciless beating. The great Mo-gul had sworn by the beard of his secretary, that he would not "trade or barter, by giving or by taking quarter," until the Gulls ceased to be a nation, or Canada was exterminated from the map of the world.

The Bulls already flushed with success, now collected their forces and determined to hazard the attempt of storming the Gulls in their own nest. They crossed the river and set in array a more formidable host than had ever darkened the wilderness with frowns. On one side marched the grim General Brock, having a huge pair of whiskers, and on the other the ill looking warrior Tecumseh, having no whiskers at all. The face of things was now changed, and the exterminating party were in their turn threatened with extermination. Here was a contingency which no one had foreseen, and against which not even the Proclamation had provided. The unhappy and disconsolate commander of the Gulls, unwilling to shed the blood of his followers by confronting their empty guns and hungry bellies with the brawney and beef fed warriors of the north; with a heavy heart and a rueful physiognomy, put his reluctant signature to the articles of a general surrender! And thus the heroes of Tippecanoe, tipped up their canoe in the slough of Detroit.

On the occurrence of this unexpected event, the whole army from the most iron hearted colonel, to the most delicate naiad of a washer woman that followed in its train, was overwhelmed with a flood of shame, and shed tears of vexation and grief. It is positively asserted by Daniel Dobbin and other learned historians, whom the chief of the Gulls has employed to write the annals of this eventful campaign, that at the moment when the general was yielding to the fear of bloodshed and starvation, whole herds of cattle were grazing in the fields, and the delicate mutton of those merinos which had unconditionally surrendered to his arms, was walking on its legs under the noses of the army. It has been asserted by some authors of respectable authority that the general had sworn a tremendous oath, that he would not lift a butcher knife against an individual of the merino tribe, until their wool should arrive at a degree of maturity and perfection, capable of furnishing him a coat, equal in magnificence to that of his great rival and compeer in the east. Be this as it may, there are many other historians of prodigious veracity who maintain that this very signal disaster was owing to the incompetent force of the Proclamation; which, it is asserted, had not a single *torpedo* in its train, nor even a terrestrial gun-boat for its assistance. However the Gulls did not incline to give credit to the latter opinion.

Courteous and considerate reader, pause here a moment to ponder on the instability of human greatness. Those very Gulls who had made themselves hoarse with the praises of their general, and had filled the very skies with his exploits, now fell upon him with unrelenting fury, and pounced and plucked and roasted him for a blockhead, a coward and a traitor. So emphatically true is it that pride may have a fall, and that he who rides in the triumphal chariot, may be upset by the jostling of a stone;

> "And from the pinnacle of glory
> "Fall headlong into purgatory."

So when the general had made an end of conquering Canada he sat down and sang the following psalm.

Two staunch looking HULLS,
Fitted out by the Gulls,
A *Demo.* on land, and a *Fed.* on the water,
As they cruized for their game,
With their blood all on flame,
Made the forest to roar and the ocean to spatter.

The federal Hull
Gave chase to John Bull,
And was soon alongside of the thundering Guerrier:
With his balls and his powder
So thickly he plough'd her
She sunk a mere wreck, and the Gulls ne'er sung merrier.

The Demo. on land,
Proclamation in hand,
Direct on fort Malden bore down like a navy;
There stood General Brock
In his way, like a rock,
So the Hull struck and bilged, and the crew cried pecavi.

Now the Gulls, all aghast,
With groans fill the blast,
And lustily cry "build a navy and man it;
And if we must *be gulls*,
O let us be sea-gulls,
And give up our conquests to Bidwell and Gannett."

FINIS.

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP II. (*continued*)

BROCK, 1812

4. Niagara Frontier: Queenston, October 13, 1812

Archives, C. 677, p. 55.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Prevost at——.

Fort George 22nd August 1812

Sir,

I have the honour of reporting to Your Excellency that on my arrival at this post on the 10th Instant, I found that a letter had arrived from Colonel Baynes, addressed to the Officer Commanding here, to apprise him that an Armistice had been agreed on; & a correspondence on the subject had been opened between Lieut. Colonel Myers and M General Van Rensselaer; after my arrival several conferences were held between Officers appointed for the purpose, a difficulty as to the terms having arisen, founded on a variation between those stated in Colonel Baynes's letter, and instructions which General Van Rensselaer had received from General Dearborn, and which required a stipulation on our part that no reinforcements &c should be sent up to the troops opposed to B: General Hull;—this obstacle was removed in an unexpected manner:—I went up to Queenstown on the 20th Inst. accompanied by L Colonel Myers and Brigade Major Evans, and I sent the latter over to Lewistown with my propositions;—on his return he informed me that objections

were made to some of them, and that Colonel Van Rensselaer—A.D.C.—to the General, would come over to me to enter into an explanatory discussion : before his arrival the Express came to me with the intelligence of M: General Brock's important success—it was not communicated to him, but some time was employed in discussion before I acceded to the obligation not to send reinforcements without four days previous notice, thinking it prudent to avoid exciting suspicion by too ready an assent : I have the honour of transmitting the Articles agreed on, and it is, moreover understood that boats are not to be assembled at any point on either side, under cover of the privilege granted therein :—I also enclose herewith a copy of a letter which L Colonel Myers has written by my direction to Colonel Lethbridge.

Since L Colonel Myers's letter of the 17th Instant considerable reinforcements are said to have joined the Enemy at Black rock—and a camp capable of holding at least eight hundred men has been formed at Lewistown, on the 18th there were seventy tents in which it was reported there were six hundred men, but L Colonel Myers having caused a few blank cartridges to be fired in quick succession to create alarm and make them turn out, it had the desired effect, and he did not discover more than two hundred men ;—since that period, however, the number of tents has been increased to more than a hundred.

The wind has been unfavourable to M. General Brock for several days or he would probably have arrived here by this time.

I have the honour to be
Your Excellency's,
Most obedient,
and most humble Servant,
R H Sheaffe
M Gen[l] &c &c.

Archives, C. 688A, p. 238.

From Brock at Fort George to Major General Stephen Van Rensselaer at Lewistown.

Head Quarters—
Fort George 25th August 1812

Sir/

Major General Sheaffe having communicated to me your letter of this date addressed to him I seize upon the first moment to express my thanks for the measures you have adopted to remove the possibility of any misunderstanding which might have arrisen in consequence of the unauthorized act of one of your subaltern officers.

It was not untill my arrival at Fort Erie late in the evening of the 23 inst. that I learnt that a cessation of hostillities had been agreed upon between Genl. Dearborn & Sir George Prevost & in consequence dispatched early yesterday an express to Amherstburg—ordering a cessation of all offensive operations agt. the U.S. in that quarter—& likewise to exert every influence in restraining the Indians from committing acts of hostillity all of which I have again repeated this day by a second express. The fortune of war having put me in possession of Detroit & its dependencies—a small Garrison has been ordered to occupy the fort—the chief object of which was to afford protection to the Inhabitants of the territory—I have the honor to enclose a Copy of a proclamation which I issued on this occasion.

I have the honor &c
(signed) Isaac Brock
Major General

Archives, C. 688B, p. 1.

Head Quarters

M.G.O. Fort George 26th August 1812

Major General Brock has ever felt anxious to study the comfort and Conveniance of the Militia but the conduct of the Detachment which lately accompanied him to Detroit has if Possible encreased his anxiety on this subject, the present Cessation of Hostilities enables him to Dispence with the Service of a Large proportion of them for a short Period—

Officers commanding will grant permission to any number of the Flank Companies now doing duty not exceeding four fifths of the whole to return to their houses ; but the men will be particularly directed to hold themselves in readiness to return at a moments warning—

The Major General is pleased to direct that a General Inspection of the Regiments in the Home, Niagara & London District be immediately made—

Major General Sheaffe will Inspect those of the Home District (except Co^{l}. Beasleys Regiment). Major General Shaw will inspect the 1st 2d 3rd 4th & 5th Lincoln Regiments and the 2d Regiment of the York Militia, & Col^{o}. Talbot the Different Regiments in the London District—

At these Inspections every man liable to Serve is expected to be present & such as are absent are to be Accounted for under the following heads—

1st. Age & Infirmity

2d. Quakers, Menoists & Tunkers.

3 Absentees distinguishing for what cause, it is expected that every Individual residing within the Limits of a Regiment shall be accounted for—

A regular Roll of each Company will be prepared by the respective Captains and Countersigned by the Officer Commanding the Regiment—

The greater the Improvement made by the Militia in acquiring a knowledge of Military Dicipline the less necessary it will be to Call them from their Homes—the Major General therefore is pleased to direct that Officers Commanding will call out the men of their Respective Regiments or Companies for the purpose of Drill once in every Week—

Officers Commanding Corps are directed to call upon the Militia men of their respective Regiments Battallions & Companies to take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance as directed in the last Militia Act, Previous to the day of Inspection—and the will furnish the Inspecting Officer with a List of the Names of such Persons—who may have refused to take and subscribe the same if any such there be—

By Order of the Major General
Sig^{d}. J. Macdonell
L^{t}. Col. Militia P.A.D.C.
True copy
W Claus Col Comd^{s}.
3^{d} & 4th Divisions

Archives, G. 398.

From Brock at York to Liverpool, Downing Street.

York, Upper Canada
30th August 1812

My Lord,

The very important Services which I have derived from John Macdonell Esquire, both in his Civil and Military Capacity since my assuming the administration of the Government of this Province, induce me earnestly to entreat Your Lordship to move His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to be graciously pleased to confirm his appointment to the Office of His Majesty's Attorney General, in which Lieutenant Governor Gore, upon his departure, nominated him to Act.

Mr. Macdonell stands high in the Opinion of those better able to judge of his professional abilities than I am; but his Conduct since the Commencement of the War, particularly at a time when the Invasion of the Province by the Enemy, seemed to have intimidated a large portion of the population, was beyond all praise.

Mr. Macdonell accompanied me to Detroit, as my Provincial Aid de Camp, in which situation he afforded me the most important assistance—Indeed I feel so much obliged to him, and Considering him every way worthy of the protection of Your Lordship, that I shall be highly gratified in the success of the present application.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord, &c.
(signed) Isaac Brock,
M.G. & Presidt

Archives, G. 473.

From Brock at York to Liverpool, Downing Street.

York, Upper Canada
1st September 1812—

My Lord,

I have been honored with Your Lordship's Despatch of the 21st March last, respecting the communication between His Majesty's Colonies, and those parts of the Continent of Europe which are occupied by the Arms or under the Controul of France.

I am not aware of any Foreigners from the Continent of Europe having arrived in this Province from such parts as are occupied by the Arms or are under the Controul of the French Government; but should such an event take place, Your Lordship may rest assured that I will pay every attention to what You have been pleased to mention on that subject.

There are no specific regulations that I am aware of, adopted invariably in this Province, respecting the measures to be taken on the Arrival of Foreigners ; I nevertheless have at all times considered it as incumbent on me to make strict enquiry respecting unknown Strangers, of whatever description they may be—this practice I shall invariably continue ; and Your Lordship may rest assured that the measures which You recommend, shall be considered by me as a guide in the discharge of a duty which the situation of this Province most particularly requires.

I have the honor to be
With the highest respect
My Lord, &c—
(signed) Isaac Brock
M.G. & Presid^{t}

Archives, C. 677, p. 64.|

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George
September 7th 1812.

Sir,

On my arrival here yesterday morning I found that intimation had been received by Major General Sheaffe of the intention of the enemy to renew hostilities at noon tomorrow. During the cessation of hostilities vast supplies have been received by the enemy His field artillery is numerous, and I have reason to believe his heavy ordnance have been considerably encreased He is now busy erecting batteries in front of Fort George, and every thing indicates an intention of commencing active operations. Reinforcements of troops of every description have evidently arrived.

I have sent to Amherstburg for such troops as Colonel Procter conceived the state of affairs in that quarter enabled

him to part with. Colonel Vincent has likewise been [1]
written to on the same subject. The prodigious quantity
of Pork and Flower which have been observed landing on the
opposite shore, from a number of Vessels and large boats which
have entered the river during the Armistice are sufficient to
supply the wants for a long period of a considerable force—

I expect an attack almost immediately—The enemy will
either turn my left flank which he may easily accomplish
during a calm night, or attempt to force his way across under
cover of his Artillery—We stand greatly in want of Officers, [2]
Men, and heavy ordnance— Captain Holcroft has been in-
defaticable, and has done everything in the power of an indi-
vidual, but on such an extended line assistance is necessary.

I look every day for the arrival of five 24 pounders from
Detroit, and other artillery and stores which are not required
there, besides two thousand muskets.

We have now three hundred Indians on the ground, and
two hundred more are expected tomorrow—they appear
ashamed of themselves, and promise to whipe away the disgrace
into which they have fallen by their late conduct They may
serve to intimadate, otherwise expect no essential service
from this degenerate race—

Should Your Excellency be in a situation to send rein-
forcements to the upper Country, the whole of the force at [3]
present at Kingston might be directed to proceed hither—
One thousand additional Regulars, are necessary. A force of
that description ought to be stationed at Pelham to act as
exigencies might require—At present the whole of my force
being necessary for the defence of the banks of the river
no post can look for support.

If I can contrive to maintain my position six weeks longer
the campaign will have terminated in a manner little expected
in the States—— But I stand in want of more artillery men,
and a thousand regulars. I have thus given Your Excellency a
hasty sketch of my situation—and this I can aver that no

exertion shall be wanting to do justice to the important Command with which I am entrusted—Captain Fulton leaves this by the first safe Conveyance.

I have the honor to be
With the highest respect
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and
Humble Servant,
Isaac Brock
M.G

It is said that Fort Niagara is to be evacuated—

[*Pencil notes in margin.*]

[1] Destroy Fort Detroit & evacuate the territory of Michigan—Colonel Vincent's regular force must not be reduced.

[2] Reinforcements to the full extent of my ability have been sent & no more can be expected until forces arrive from England.

[3] Not having received reinforcements I cannot send another man to Upper Canada whilst affairs continue in their present posture.

Archives, C. 677, p. 81.

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George
September 13th 1812

Sir,

The movements of the enemy, just before the expiration of the Armistice, indicated an intention of Commencing active operations, but now everything tends to defensive measures—

The intelligence lately received, and upon which I can safely rely, represents the disposition of the troops on the opposite shore, as very licentious, and anxious for an oppor-

tunity of deserting a service in which they are not only badly fed, but remain without pay—The Government paper is not received in common intercourse, consequently inapplicable to the payment of the troops—Great sickness prevails along the whole line—The officers of the 49 Regt. quartered opposite Black Rock, have observed during the last week one, and often two, Military burials of a day—Nothing can confirm the above statement more strongly then the desertion of seven men from the 6th U.S. Regimt., six of whom however perished in the attempt to cross the river, and of two at noon this day, one of whom effected his purpose, but the other, alarmed at the heavy fire of the guard, returned, and was instantly seized—They of course complain of bad usage, bad and scanty food, and a total want of pay—the two Companies to which these men belonged arrived during the cessation of hostilities from Bushy Park—they were Sixty R. & F each, out of which thirty, independently of those lost since yesterday, have deserted—Many are sick and almost all determined to seize upon the first opportunity to follow their example—Nothing can be more wretched than the state of discipline existing among the troops—The Militia, they pretend, are better fed and otherwise better treated, which occasion great jealousy—As both private accounts, and those of deserters, agree as to the main facts, there can be no doubt of much dissatisfaction prevailing among the troops—A great deal could be effected against such a body at this moment, but keeping in mind Your Excellency's instructions, and aware of the policy of permitting such a force to dwindle away by its own inefficient means, I do not contemplate any immediate attack

The enemy has taken down the roof of the large stone house in Fort Niagara upon which he has placed two brass twelve Pdrs & has likewise constructed a battery precisely in front of our fort—I am in daily expectation of the arrival of the Queen Charlotte from Detroit which will give us such a

superiority in Artillery, as will soon silence any thing he can bring against the Fort—

I have the honor to be
With the highest respect
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and
Very Humble Servant
Isaac Brock
M.G—

The enclosed is the last Communication received from Amherstburg.

I. B.

Archives, C. 688B, p. 76.

From Macdonell at Fort George to ——at Dundas Mills.

Head Quarters
Fort George 16th Septr 1812

Dr. Sir/

Your letter to Major Evans of yesterday has been recd. & I am commanded by Major Genl. Brock to return you his thanks for your promt attention in conveying to him the information it gives—Immediate steps will be taken for the apprehension of the persons you mention—

With respect to those persons who have refused to take the Oath of allegiance, the Genl. desires me to say that it is his wish they should be prosecuted as directed by the last Militia act, and, if convicted sent down to this place—to be further dealt with as may be judged most expedient.

The Genl. considers that proof of a Militia man being required *to attend for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance* & his refusing or neglecting so to do, without legal excuse will warrant a conviction under the clause of the act.

I have the honor to be D Sir &c
J. McD.

A Narrative of the Affair of Queenstown: in the War of 1812 . . . *By Solomon Van Rensselaer, New York:* . . . 1836. *Appendix, p.* 73.

From Van Rensselaer at Lewiston to Brock at ——.

EXTRACT

Head-Quarters, Lewiston,
17th Sept., 1812.

Sir,—

In a communication which I had some time since the honour of receiving from Lieut. Col. Myers, he assured me that it had been the constant study of the general officer, commanding the British forces on this line, to discountenance, by all means in his power, the warfare of sentinels; yet, occurrences for some days past, would warrant the presumption, that such orders no longer exist. If so be the fact, I wish to be ascertained of it.

I have the honour to be,
with consideration, &c.

Archives, C. 688B, p. 97.

Draft of a letter from Brock at Fort George to Van Rensselaer at ——.

Head Quarters—
Fort George Sept 17—1812

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date.

Captain Dyson has obtained my permission to Cross on his Parole to the United States—he has however requested to remain 'till tomorrow to settle with the men of his detachment. He shall in the mean time have an interview with Colonel Van Renselaer—

Measures will be immediately taken to land the women and children at Fort Niagara

It has been with the utmost regret that I have perceived within these few days a very heavy firing from both sides of the River. I am however given to understand that on all occasions it commenced on Yours—And from the circumstance of the Flag of Truce which I did myself the honor to send over [ ] having been repeatedly fired upon while in the act of Crossing the River—I am inclined to give full Credit to the Correctness of the information—Without however recurring to the past, you may rely [?] on my repeating my most positive orders against the Continuance of a practice—which Can only be injurious to Individuals—without promoting the object which both our Nations may have in view.

Archives, C. 677, p. 90.

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George
September 18th 1812.

Sir

I have been honored with Your Excellency's dispatch dated the 7th Instant I have implicitly followed Your Excellency's instructions, and abstained under great temptation and provocation, from every act of hostility The information received from a deserter, and which I had the honor to detail in my last, is far from correct, and where credit is to be given, the facts apply solely to the regular force—The Militia being selected from the most violent democrats, are generally inclined to invade this Province—Provisions are in tolerable plenty—the only complaint arises from a want of vegetables.—It is currently reported that the enemy's force is to be encreased to seven thousand, and that on their arrival an attack is immediately to be made. I am convinced the Militia would not keep together in their present situation without such a prospect, nor do I think the attempt can be

long deferred—Sickness prevails in some degree along the line, but principally at Black Rock—

The Flank Companies of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment have joined me—A Serjeant and twenty five rank and file of the Veterans arrived at the same time, whom I propose sending to Michilimakanac

The enclosed letter from Colonel Procter will inform Your Excellency of a force having been detached under Captain Muir for the reduction of Fort Wayne—I gave orders previous to my leaving Amherstburg for it, which must have induced Colonel Procter to proceed upon receiving intelligence of the recommencement of hostilities without waiting for further directions—I regret exceedingly that this service should have been undertaken contrary to your Excellency's wishes or intentions, but I beg leave to assure Your Excellency that the principal object in sending a British force to Fort Wayne is with the hope of preserving the lives of the garrison—By the last accounts the place was invested by a numerous body of Indians with very little prospect of being relieved—The prisoners of war, who knew perfectly the situation of the garrison, rejoiced at the measure, and give us full credit for our intentions.

The Indians were likewise looking to us for assistance—they heard of the Armistice with every mark of jealously [*sic*], and had we refused joining them in the expedition it is impossible to calculate the consequences. I have already been asked to pledge my word that England would enter into no negociation in which their interests were not consulted, and could they be brought to imagine that we should desert them the consequences must be fatal—

I have perused with every possible attention Your Excellency's instruction " that whenever I was informed that the enemy have made an attempt to penetrate into the Lower Province I am to concentrate all my disposal force, and immediately make such a diversion as shall indicate a dis-

position to operate upon his rear, and upon his lines of communication." My force is so scattered, and so immediately required for the defence of the different posts at which it is stationed, that I am at a loss to know in what manner I possibly can act so as to produce the effect expected—

I shall be obliged to Your Excellency to direct five thousand pounds to be transmitted to the Receiver General for the civil expenditure of this Province, Army Bills, I make no doubt, will answer every purpose—

This dispatch is entrusted to L^{t}. Colonel Nicholls, Quarter Master General of this Militia, whom I take the liberty to introduce to Your Excellency as perfectly qualified from his local knowledge, and late return, to afford every information of the state of affairs in the Western district—He is instructed to make extensive purchases of necessaries for the use of the Militia, and I have to entreat Your Excellency to indulge him with the means of a speedy conveyance back to this place.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's Faithful and obed^{t} Servant
Isaac Brock, M.G^{l}.

Van Rensselaer's *Narrative—Appendix*, p. 74.

From Van Rensselaer at Lewiston to Brock at Fort George.

Head-Quarters, Lewiston,
20th Sept., 1812.

Sir,—

It was with extreme regret and concern that I yesterday learned through Lieut. Col. Myers, that in a repetition of the practice of firing between sentinels which I have so peremptorily prohibited, one shot has proved fatal to a man at the Lime Kilns on the Canada shore. Immediately, on receiving information of this unfortunate event, I caused strict enquiry to be made, to the end, that the offender, if discovered, might

be punished according to his demerit. But the result of this inquiry has not furnished me with the least evidence against any man. I cannot ascertain that a single gun has been fired, at, or near the place from whence the shot was supposed to have been thrown.

That these firings have been repeatedly *commenced on* both sides, is not to be questioned: the fact is established, by the testimony of officers whose rank and character, in both armies, utterly precludes all doubt. It is a circumstance, which, in this explanation, ought not to be omitted, that there may be, on both sides of the river,—there certainly is reason to believe there are on this side—persons not under *immediate* command in either army, who, occasionally, approach the river, discharge their pieces, at the sentries, and then escape unobserved in their retreats, while the fire, thus begun, is returned upon an unoffending sentinel. I have caused patrols to be sent out to take such persons, but without success.

I can only repeat, sir, that I deeply regret the unfortunate occurrence which has happened; that my orders against the practice which has occasioned it have been most peremptory: my efforts to enforce them are unremitting, and every attempt to convict anyone of disobedience, as yet, is unavailing.

With consideration and high respect,
I have the honour, &c.

Van Rensselaer's *Narrative—Appendix*, p. 75.

From Brock at Fort George to Van Rensselaer at Lewiston.

Head-Quarters, Fort George,
23d Sept., 1812.

Sir,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the twentieth instant. I never doubted for a

moment that the firing from your side of the river, upon individuals, was contrary to your intentions, and in violation of your orders, and I beg leave to repeat, that every effort shall be made on my part to prevent a recurrence of such acts of insubordination, on this side.

I have the honour to be,
with very great respect, &c.

Archives, C. 677, p. 94.

From Brock at York to Prevost at ——.

York Upper Canada
September 28th 1812

Sir/

I have been honored with your Excellency's dispatch dated the 14th instant—I shall suspend under the latitude left by your Excellency to my discretion, the evacuation of Fort Detroit,—Such a measure would most probably be followed by the total extinction of the population on that side of the River, or the Indians, aware of our weakness and inability to carry on active warfare would only think of entering into terms with the enemy.—The Indians, since the Meame affair in 1793, have been extremely suspicious of our conduct, but the violent wrongs committed by the Americans on their Territory have rendered it an act of policy with them to disguise their sentiments—Could they be persuaded that a peace between the belligerents would take place without admitting their claim to an extensive tract of country, fraudently userped from them, and opposing a frontier to the present unbounded views of the Americans, I am satisfied in my own mind that they would immediately compromise with the enemy. I cannot conceive a connexion so likely to lead to more awful consequences—

If we can maintain ourselves at Niagara and keep the

communication to Montreal open, the Americans can only subdue the Indians by craft which we ought to be prepared to see exerted to the utmost.—The enmity of the Indians is now at it's height, and it will require much management and large bribes, to effect a change in their policy, but the moment they are convinced that we either want the means to prosecute the War with spirit, or are negociating a separate peace, they will begin to study in what manner they can most effectually deceive us—

Should negocations for peace be opened I cannot be too earnest with your Excellency to represent to the King's ministers, the expediency of including the Indians as Allies, and not leave them exposed to the unrelenting fury of their enemies.

The enemy has evidently assumed defensive measures along the Strait of Niagara—His force I apprehend is not equal to attempt with any probability of success an expedition across the River—It is however currently reported that large re-inforcements are on their march. Should they arrive an attack cannot be long delayed—The approach of the rainy season will increase the sickness with which the troops are already afflicted—Those under my command are in perfect health and spirits

I beg leave to represent to your Excellency the great want of bedding for the Militia—

I have received strong representations from Col: Vincent on the subject—he reports that several men have returned home in consequence—He has been instructed to apply, in order to save time, direct to Head Quarters, where he is sure to receive such relief as circumstances will admit—A supply for this District would likewise prove very acceptable.

I have the honor to submit the purpot of a confidential communication received in my absence by Brigade Major Evans, from Colonel Ransselear—As your Excellencys instructions agree with the line of conduct he is anxious I

should follow, nothing of a hostile nature shall be attempted under existing circumstances

I have the honor to be
Sir, Your Excellency's
Most Obedient
Humble Servant
Isaac Brock
M.G—

Archives, C. 688A, p. 212.

Enclosure.

[Endorsement] REPORT OF B: MAJOR EVANS OF HIS CONFERENCE WITH COL. VAN RENSSELAER.

Substance of a private and confidential Conference with Colonel Van Ransselor—

After communicating my Instructions, and delivering the letter entrusted to me by M. Gen[l]. Sheaffe, Col[l]. V, informed me that by an express received last night by Gen[l]. V—from Gen[l]. Dearborn a condition was annexed to the arrangement for a Cessation of Arms, of not allowing the British to send further Troops from the Niagara District, against Gov[r]. Hull so long as such Cessation shall exist, that he considered their right to transport Provisions, Stores &c. by water the same as previous to the commencement of hostilities. By agreeing to these Points he stated General V.s willingness to meet the wishes of General Sheaffe as expressed in the Paper I handed him. To the first demand I stated the impossibility of Gen[l]. Sheaffes compliance, but to prevent any interruption to the Orders given, I observed that Gen[l]. Sheaffe might possibly take upon himself the responsibility not to send further reinforcements against Gov[r]. Hull previous to communicating with Gen[l]. Brock understanding however, and obtaining the promise that none should be sent from the District of

New York to his assistance, after a little hesitation he concluded this would be satisfactory, to the other Point I offered my opinion that it could not be admitted to which he answered, that would be a difficulty easily got over—after some familiar conversation, he threw off his reserve, laid particular stress on his wish, that our General should appear pacific in all his actions, how much Public opinion had changed in favor of G^{t}. Britain from the circumstances of her dignified forbearance in all Quarters, that he himself, and the General were Federals, that at the approaching Elections he had no doubt of the Government being in their hands that looking round to see no one was present he enjoined me to secresy, and then declared the Gov^{t}. to be in the hands of a faction that the War was obnoxious to a Majority of the People, that their (meaning the Generals and his own actions) actions were watched mentioned the failure of the Paper Money at Washington, and concluded by stating these were only hints, that fear alone detered him from stating other facts which would at once convince me the present Government could not exist he concluded by wishing the two Countries might soon be united in bonds of peace and amity, his manner and demeanor seemed to bespeak sincerity.—I left him after obtaining his promise to furnish the General with regular foreign news thro' M^{r} Dickson—

19th August 1812.
T. E.

Archives, C. 677, p. 123.

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George
October 9th 1812

Sir,

I have been honored with Your Excellency's dispatch dated the 25th Ult^{o}, and have to thank Your Excellency for ordering a Company of the Glngary Regiment to

strengthen Colonel Lethbridge at Prescott, whose force Your Excellency has been led to believe had been weakened in consequence of my interference, but which I beg leave to state was done without my knowledge, and contrary to my intention—

The enclosed Copies of letters will inform your Excellency of the state of affairs to the westward—It appears evident the enemy meditates a second attempt on Amherstburg—The greater part of the troops which are advancing marched from Kentucky with an intention of joining General Hull. How they are to subsist, even for a short period, in that already exhausted Country, is no easy matter to conceive—This difficulty will probably decide them on some bold measure in the hope of shortening the Campaign—If successfully resisted their fate is unavoidable—

The Indians, it appears by the accompanying documents, were adverse to retreating without first making trial of their strength ; Taking however every circumstance into consideration I incline to think Captain Muir acted judiciously. Should the Indians continue to afford a willing cooperation I entertain not the smallest doubt of the event that awaits this second attempt to turn my right But Your Excellency will easily perceive that doubts and jealousies have already seized their minds. The Officers of the Indian department will, I trust, be able to remove all such impressions—Altho' from the daily observations of what is passing on the opposite shore a single man can ill be spared from this line, I have, notwithstanding, determined to send the two flank Companies of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment to Amherstburg—Fresh troops are daily arriving supposed to belong to the Pennsylvania quota of two thousand known to be intended for this frontier—After the whole arrive an attack, I imagine, cannot be long delayed. The wretched state of their quarters, and the raggedness of the troops will not allow them to brave the rain and cold which during the last week have been so

severely felt—Between two and three hundred Indians have joined and augmented the force on the other side—Their brethren here feel certain they will not act with any spirit against us, so I imagine, if we continue to shew a bold front —but in the event of a disaster, the lure of plunder will prevail, and they will then act, in a manner the most to be dreaded by the inhabitants of this Country—

I beg leave to recommend to Your Excellency's indulgent consideration Colonel Procter's application for the encrease of pay as Commanding a District, which I request may commence from the 15th of August last—With the greatest respect

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's—
Most faithful Humble Servant
Isaac Brock
M.G—

Archives, C. 677, p. 127.

From Brock at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

[Endorsement in pencil] Last Official Letter written by General Sir Isaac Brock.

Fort George
October 11th 1812

Sir,

I had scarcely closed my dispatch to Your Excellency of the 9th when I was suddenly called away to Fort Erie in consequence of a bold, and I regret to say, successful attack by the enemy on His Majesty's Brig Detroit, and the private Brig Caledonia, which had both arrived the preceding day from Amherstburg. It appears, by every account I have been able to collect, that a little before day a number of boats full of men dropped down the current unobserved, boarded both Vessels at the Same moment, and cutting their Cables

were proceeding with them to the American Shore, when Major Ormsby, who witnessed the transaction, directed the Batteries to open on them, and soon compelled the enemy to abandoned the Detroit, which grounded about the center of Squaw Island a little more than a Mile below Black Rock. She was then boarded by a party of the 49th Regiment, but as no Anchor remained, and being otherwise unprovided with every means by which she could be hauled off, the officer, after throwing her guns over board, and sustaining a smart fire of musketry, decided to quit her—A private, who is accused of getting drunk, and a prisoner of war, who was unable from his wounds to escape with about twenty brought by the Detroit from Amherstburg, remained however behind—whom it was necessary to remove before the vessel could be distroyed, and Cornet Pell Major, of the Provincial Cavalry offered his service—Being unfortunately wounded as he was getting on board, and falling back in the boat, a confusion arose, during which the boat drifted from the Vessel, leaving two of the 41st, who had previously ascended, on board—In the meantime the Caledonia was secured by the enemy, and a cargo of furs belonging to the South West Company landed—

The Batteries on both sides were warmly engaged the whole of the day but I am happy to say no mischief was sustained by the enemy's fire—I reached the spot soon after sun set and intended to have renewed the attempt to recover the Detroit, which, assisted by the Crew of the Lady Prevost which had anchored a short time before, I had every prospect of accomplishing, but before the necessary arrangements could be made, the enemy boarded her, and in a few minutes she was seen in flames—

This event is particularly unfortunate, and may reduce us to incalculable distress. The enemy is making every exertion to gain a naval Superiority on both Lakes which if they accomplish I do not see how we can retain the Country

—Three Vessels are fitting out for war on the other side of Squaw Island which I would have attempted to distroy but for Your Excellency's repeated instructions to forbear—now such a force is collected for their protection as will render any operation against them very hazardous.

The manner our guns were served yesterday point out the necessity of an encrease, if possible, of Artillery Men, to our present small number of regulars—The Militia evinced a good spirit, but fired without much effect—The enemy, however, must have lost Some Men, and it is only wonderful that in a contest of a whole day no life was lost on our side—The fire of the enemy was incessant, but badly directed till the close of the day, when it began to improve—Lieu^{t}. Rolette who commanded the Detroit had, and I believe deservedly, the character of a brave attentive officer—His Vessel must, however, have been surprized, an easy operation where she lay at anchor, and I have reason to suspect that this consideration was not sufficiently attended to by the officers Commanding on board and on Shore.

We have not only sustained a heavy loss in the Vessel, but likewise in the Cargo, which consisted of four twelves, a large quantity of shot, and about two hundred muskets, all of which were intended for Kingston and Prescott—The only consolation remaining is that she escaped the enemy, whose conduct after his first essay, did not entitle him to so rich a prize.

The enemy has brought some boats over land from Slusher to the Niagara River, and made an attempt last night to carry off the guard over the store at Queenston, I shall refrain as long as possible, under Your Excellency's positive injunctions, from every hostile act, although sensible that each days delay gives him an advantage.

I have the honor to be, with every respect, Your Excellency's Faithful and Obedient Servant,

Isaac Brock M.G—

12th October 1812.

The vast number of troops which have been added this day to the strong force previously collected on the opposite side convince me, with other indications, that an attack is not far distant—I have in consequence directed every exertion to be made to complete the Militia, to two thousand Men, but fear I shall not be able to effect my object with willing well disposed characters—Were it not for the number of Americans in our ranks we might defy all their efforts against this part of the Province—

I. B.

Archives, G. 56, p. 264.

From Sidmouth, Downing Street, to Brock in Upper Canada.

CIRCULAR. DOWNING-STREET,

SIR, 13th *October*, 1812.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty, having been pleased, by an Order in Council dated this day, to order that General Reprisals be granted against the Ships, Goods, and Citizens, of the United States of America, and others Inhabiting within the Territories thereof—I herewith transmit to you a Copy of the said Order; and I am to signify to you the Commands of His Royal Highness, that you do make the same as public as possible within your Government, in order that His Majesty's Subjects may do their utmost in their several stations, to make capture of the Ships and Vessels belonging to Citizens of the United States, and to destroy their Commerce; for which purpose His Royal Highness has been pleased to direct Letters of

Marque, and Commissions of Privateers, to be granted in the usual manner.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble Servant,
Sidmouth
In the absence of Earl Bathurst

Archives, Q. 118, p. 281.

Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.

From Sheaffe to Prevost.

Copy/ Fort George
13th October 1812.

Sir,

I have the honour of informing Your Excellency that the Enemy made an attack with a considerable force this morning before daylight on the position of Queenstown; On receiving intelligence of it Major General Brock immediately proceeded to that Post and I am excessively grieved in having to add that he fell whilst gallantly cheering his troops to an exertion for maintaining it; With him the position was lost, but the Enemy was not allowed to retain it long; Reinforcements having been sent up from this post composed of regular troops, Militia, and Indians, a movement was made to turn his left while some Artillery under the direction of Captain Holcroft supported by a body of Infantry engaged his attention in front; this operation was aided, too, by the judicious position which Norton and the Indians with him had taken on the woody brow of the high ground above Queenstown; A Communication being thus opened with Chipawa a junction was formed with succours that had been

ordered from that post; The Enemy was then attacked, and after a short but spirited conflict was completely defeated; I had the satisfaction of receiving the sword of their Commander Brigadier General Wadsworth on the field of Battle, and many Officers with upwards of nine hundred men were made prisoners, and more may yet be expected; A stand of Colours and a six pounder were also taken; The action did not terminate until nearly three o'clock in the afternoon and their loss in killed and wounded must have been considerable; Our's I believe to have been comparatively small in numbers; No Officer was killed besides Major General Brock, one of the most gallant and zealous Officers in His Majestys Service whose loss cannot be too much deplored, and Lieutenant Colonel M^c^Donell, Provincial Aid-de-Camp whose gallantry and merit rendered him worthy of his Chief.

Captains Dennis and Williams commanding the Flank Companies of the 49^th^ Regiment which were stationed at Queenstown were wounded, bravely contending at the head of their men against superior numbers but I am glad to have it in my power to add that Captain Dennis fortunately was able to keep the field through with pain and difficulty and Captain Williams's wound is not likely to deprive me long of his Services.

I am particularly indebted to Captain Holcroft of the Royal Artillery for his judicious and skilful co-operation with the Guns and Howitzer under his immediate superintendence the well directed fire from which contributed materially to the fortunate result of the day.

Captain Derenzy of the 41^st^ Regiment brought up the reinforcement of that Corps from Fort George and Captain Bullock led that of the same Regiment from Chipawa and under their command those detachments acquitted themselves in such a manner as to sustain the reputation which the 41^st^ Regiment had already acquired in the vicinity of Detroit.

Major General Brock soon after his arrival at Queenstown had sent down orders for battering the American Fort Niagara. Brigadier Major Evans who was left in charge of Fort George directed the operations against it with so much effect as to silence its fire and to force the Troops to abandon it and by his prudent precautions he prevented mischief of a most serious nature which otherwise might have been effected, the Enemy having used heated shot in firing at Fort George; In these services he was most effectually aided by Colonel Claus (who remained in the Fort at my desire) and by Captain Vigoreux of the Royal Engineers, Brigade Major Evans also mentions the conduct of Captains' Powell and Cameron of the Militia Artillery in terms of Commendation.

Lieutenant Crowther of the 41st Regiment had charge of two three pounders that accompanied the movement of our little Corps and they were employed with very good effect.

Captain Glegg of the 49th Regiment Aid-de-Camp to our lamented friend and General afforded me most essential assistance and I found the Service of Lieutenant Fowler of the 41st Regiment Assistant Deputy Quarter Master General very useful; I derived much aid too, from the activity and intelligence of Lieutenant Kerr of the Glengary Fencibles whom I employed in communications with the Indians and other flanking parties.

I was unfortunately deprived of the aid of the experience and ability of Lieutenant Colonel Myers Depy Quarter Master General who had been sent up to Fort Erie a few days past on duty which detained him there.

Lieutenant Colonels Butler and Clark of the Militia and Captains Hatt Durand Rowe Applegarth James Crooks Cooper Robert Hamilton McEwen and Duncan Cameron and Lieutenants Richardson and Thomas Butler commanding flank companies of the Lincoln and York Militia led their

men into Action with great spirit,—Major Merritt commanding the Niagara Dragoons accompanied me and gave me much assistance with part of his Corps; Captain A. Hamilton belonging to it was disabled from riding and attached himself to the Guns under Captain Holcroft who speaks highly of his activity and usefulness—I beg leave to add that Volunteers Shaw, Thompson and Jarvis attached to the flank Companies of the 49th Regiment conducted themselves with great spirit;—The first was wounded and the last taken Prisoner; I beg leave to recommend these young men to Your Excellency's notice; Norton is wounded but not badly;—He and the Indians particularly distinguished themselves; and I have very great satisfaction in assuring Your Excellency that the spirit and good conduct of His Majesty's Troops,—of the Militia and of the other Provincial Corps were eminently conspicuous on this occasion.

I have not been able to ascertain yet the number of our Troops or of those of the Enemy Engaged;—Ours I believe did not exceed the number of the Prisoners we have taken and their advance which effected a landing probably amounted to thirteen or fourteen hundred.

I shall do myself the honour of transmitting to Your Excellency further details when I shall have received the several reports of the occurrences which did not pass under my observation with the returns of casualties and those of the killed and wounded and of the Ordnance taken.

I have the honour to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient
humble Servant
(Signed) R. H. Sheaffe,
Majr. Genl. &c &c &c

Van Rensselaer's *Narrative—Appendix*, p. 76.

From Van Rensselaer at Lewiston to Brock at ——.

Head-Quarters, Lewiston,
13th Oct., 1812.

Sir,—

Humanity induces me to request your permission to send to Queenstown some surgeons to attend the officers and men who have had the misfortune to be wounded this day, and are prisoners at Queenstown.

Agreeably to the proposition which I had this afternoon the honour to receive, as coming from you, I have agreed to a cessation of firing for three days.

I have the honour, &c.

Archives, C. 688B, p. 119.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Van Rensselaer at ——.

Fort George
13th October 1812—

Sir,

I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your communication of this date, and was pleased to learn at the same time that the Officer Commanding at Queenstown had acceded to your proposal of sending Surgeons to that Post for the aid of wounded prisoners, without incurring the delay which would have been occasioned by a reference to me, but as our means of affording assistance to them as well as to our own wounded may be inadequate, I beg leave to propose that the wounded prisoners whose cases may admit of removal, should be sent over to you, on condition of not serving again until regularly exchanged.

Though the proposition which I had the honour of making to you today, did not go to the extent that, by some mistake, you were led to suppose, yet I readily concur with you in

agreeing to a cessation of firing for three days, and I transmit orders to that effect to the Officers Comm^g^ at the several posts on this line.—

F. G.—14^th^ Oct^r^ 1812

Having delayed sending my accompanying letter to give General Wadsworth and the other Officers who are prisoners an opportunity of writing for some necessary articles, I have the honour at the same time to propose an exchange of prisoners, including those who were taken some days ago in the two Vessels cut out from F^t^ Erie Harbour: I have further to propose, Sir, that the Militia taken prisoners exceeding the number that may be exchanged shall be restored to their homes and families under an engagement not to serve against Great Britain or her Allies during the War, or until regularly exchanged.

I am &c &c
R H S:

Major-General C. W. Robinson: *Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson*, p. 33.

From J. B. (afterwards Sir John Beverley) Robinson at Brown's Point, near Queenstown.

Brown's Point, *October* 14, 1812.

My dear Sir,—

The affair of yesterday terminated so gloriously for this province, and does so much honour to its spirited defenders, that I hasten to give an account to you, whom I know to be most warmly interested in the present cause of our country.

I am anxious to detail to you the particulars, because I know your heart will glow with fervour at our success, while it feelingly and sincerely laments the price at which it was purchased.

Few things occurred which I had not an opportunity of

observing, and what I did see, from its novelty, its horror, and its anxiety, made so awful an impression on my mind, that I have the picture of it all fresh and perfect in my imagination.

About half-an-hour before daylight yesterday morning, (the 13th of October, Tuesday), being stationed at one of the batteries between Fort George and Queenston, I heard a heavy cannonade from Fort Grey on the American side situate on the height of the mountain, and commanding the town of Queenston. The motions of the enemy had, for a few days previously, indicated an intention to attack. The lines had been watched with all the vigilance that our force rendered possible, and so great was the fatigue which our men underwent from want of rest and exposure to the inclement weather which had just preceded, that they welcomed with joy the prospect of a field which would be decisive, and set them more at ease for the future. Their spirits were high, and their confidence in the General unbounded.

Our party, which was merely an extra guard during the night, returned to Brown's Point, our main station, which is about two miles in a direct line from Queenston.

From our battery there we had the whole scene most distinctly in our view. Day was just glimmering. The cannon from both sides roared incessantly, shells were bursting in the air, and the side of the mountain above Queenston was illumined by the continual discharge of small arms. The last circumstance convinced us that some part of the enemy had landed; and in a few moments, as day advanced, objects became visible, and we saw numbers of Americans in boats attempting to land upon our shore, amidst a shower of shot of all descriptions, which was skilfully and incessantly levelled at them.

No orders had been given to Captain Cameron, who commanded our detachment of York Militia, what conduct to pursue in case of an attack at Queenston; and as it had

been suggested to him that, in the event of a landing being attempted there, the enemy would probably, by various attacks, endeavour to distract our force, he hesitated at first whether it would be proper to withdraw his men from the station assigned them to defend. He soon saw, however, that every exertion was required in aid of the troops engaged above us, and resolved to march us immediately to the scene of action.

On our road, General Brock passed us. He had galloped from Niagara in great haste,[1] unaccompanied by his aide-de-camp or a single attendant. He waved his hand to us, and desired us to follow with expedition, and galloped on with full speed to the mountain. Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell and Captain Glegg passed immediately after.

At the time the enemy began to cross there were two companies of the 49th Regiment (the Grenadier and Light Company) and, I believe, three small companies of Militia to oppose them.

Their reception was such as did honour to the courage and management of our troops. The grape and musket balls, poured upon them at close quarters as they approached the shore, made incredible havoc. A single discharge from a field-piece directed by Captain Dennis himself (the captain of the 49th Grenadiers) killed fifteen in one boat.

Three of their batteaux landed at the hollow below Mr. Hamilton's garden in Queenston, and were met by a party of Militia, who slaughtered almost the whole of those in them, taking the rest prisoners. Several other boats were so shattered and raked that the men in them threw down their arms, and came on shore merely to deliver themselves up prisoners of war.

Thus far, things had proceeded successfully; and the General, on his approach to the spot, was greeted with the

[1] About seven miles. [The notes are taken from the *Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson.*]

happy intelligence that all our aggressors were destroyed or taken. As we advanced with our company we met troops of Americans on their way to Fort George under guard, and the road was lined with miserable wretches, suffering under wounds of all descriptions, and crawling to our houses for protection and comfort.

The spectacle struck us, who were unused to such heart-rending scenes, with horror; but we hurried to the place, impressed with the idea that we had conquered, and that the business of the day was done.

A fresh brigade of four boats had just then crossed, and our troops, who had been stationed on the mountain, were ordered down to dispute their landing. No sooner had they descended than the enemy appeared in force above them. They had probably landed before the rest, while it was yet dark, and had remained concealed by the rough crags of the mountain. They possessed themselves instantly of our battery on the height.

General Brock rushed up the mountain on foot with some troops to dislodge them; but they were so advantageously posted, and kept up so tremendous a fire, that the small number ascending were driven back.

The General then rallied the men, and was proceeding up the right of the mountain to attack them in flank, when he received a ball in his breast. Several of the 49th assembled round him. One poor fellow was severed in the middle by a ball, and fell across the General. They succeeded, however, in conveying the General's body to Queenston.

Just at this instant we reached Queenston. We were halted a few moments in Mr. Hamilton's garden, where we were exposed to the shot from the American battery at Fort Grey and two field-pieces directly opposite us, and also to an incessant fire of musketry from the side of the mountain. One of our poor fellows had his leg shot off in the ranks by a ball which carried away the whole calf of another lad's leg.

In a few minutes we were ordered to advance to the mountain. The nature of the ground and the galling fire prevented any kind of order in ascending. We soon scrambled to the top, at the right of the battery which the Americans had gained, and were in some measure covered by the woods. There we stood, and gathering the men as they advanced, formed them into line ; the fire was too hot to admit of delay. Scarcely more than fifty were collected, of whom about thirty were of our company, headed by Captain Cameron and three of our subalterns. The remainder were the 49th, commanded by Captain Williams.

Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell was there, mounted, and animating the men to charge, seconded with great spirit and valour by Captain Williams. But the attempt was unsuccessful, and must have been dictated rather by a fond hope of regaining what had been lost by a desperate effort than by any conviction of its practicability. The enemy were just in front, covered by bushes and logs, and were three or four hundred in number. They perceived us forming, and at about thirty yards' distance fired.

Colonel Macdonell, who was on the left of our party, most heroically calling upon us to advance, received a shot in his side, and fell. His horse was the same instant killed. . . . Captain Williams, who was at the other extremity of our small band, fell the next instant, apparently dead. The remainder of our men discharged their pieces, and retired down the mountain. Lieutenant M'Lean [1] was wounded in the thigh, and Captain Cameron, in his attempt to save Colonel Macdonell, exposed himself to a shower of musketry, which he most miraculously escaped. He succeeded in bearing off his friend ; and Captain Williams recovered from the wound in his head in time to make his escape down the mountain.

This happened about ten o'clock. Our forces rallied about

[1] Afterwards Chief-Justice M'Lean.

a mile below. . . . General Sheaffe, with the 41st from Fort George, about 300 in number, came up soon after with the field-pieces and Car Brigade.[1] All the force that could be mustered was collected, and we marched through the fields back of Queenston, ascended the mountain on the right, and remained in the woods in rear of the enemy till intelligence was gained of their position. During this time, the Americans were constantly landing fresh troops unmolested, and carrying back their dead and wounded in their return boats.

About three o'clock, General Sheaffe advanced through the woods towards the battery on the mountain, with the main body and the field guns on the right: the Mohawk Indians, under Captain Norton, and a Niagara Company of Blacks, proceeded along the brow of the mountain on the left; and our company of Militia, with the Light Company of the 49th, broke through in the centre.

In this manner we rushed through the woods to our encamping ground on the mountain, which the enemy had occupied. The Indians were the first in advance. As soon as they perceived the enemy they uttered their terrific war-whoop, and commenced a most destructive fire, rushing rapidly upon them. Our troops instantly sprang forward from all quarters, joining in the shout.

The Americans stood a few moments, gave two or three general volleys, and then fled by hundreds down the mountain. At that moment, Captain Bullock, with 150 of the 41st and two Militia flank companies, appeared advancing on the road from Chippewa. The consternation of the enemy was complete. . . .

They had no place to retreat to, and were driven by a furious and avenging foe, from whom they had little mercy to expect, to the brink of the mountain which overhangs the river. They fell in numbers. . . . Many leaped down the

[1] The "Car Brigade" of Artillery was largely composed of farmers' sons who had volunteered to horse the guns with their draught horses.

side of the mountain to avoid the horrors which pressed upon them, and were dashed to pieces by the fall.

A white flag was observed, and with the utmost difficulty the slaughter was suspended. Two officers who brought it were conducted up the mountain to General Sheaffe. A cessation of hostilities for three days was agreed upon.

Thus ended the business of this day, so important and so interesting in its occurrences to the inhabitants of this province. The invasion of our peaceful shores has terminated in the entire destruction of their army and the total loss of everything brought over.

The number of Americans landed is unknown, and cannot be easily ascertained by us, but we know that we have taken nearly, or perhaps quite, 1000 prisoners, with more than fifty officers, undoubtedly their bravest and best. Still we have much to sorrow for. Our country has a loss to deplore which the most brilliant success cannot fully atone for. That General who had led our little army to victory, whose soul was wrapped up in our prosperity, and whose every energy was directed to the defence of our country, is now shrouded in death.

Who will not sympathise in another misfortune nearly related to this. . . . That heroic young man,[1] the constant attendant of the General, strove to support to the last a cause which should never be despaired of, but he was not destined to witness its triumph. I have mentioned the manner of his death. His career was short, but honourable; his end was premature and full of glory. He will be buried at the same time with the General. . . .

Our company of volunteers suffered considerably. One man was killed, and eleven wounded, most of them badly. But all these, though melancholy circumstances, are the

[1] Refers to Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, A.D.C. to General Brock, who survived the mortal wound he had received for about twenty-four hours only, and in this interval a mail arrived from England which brought out the King's confirmation of his appointment to be Attorney-General.

inevitable consequences of war; and grateful should the inhabitants of this province be to Heaven if, by a sacrifice of some of its gallant defenders, it can save itself from unjust aggression, and preserve to our Mother Country a possession which has ever been the object of its affection.

Our troops will have received fresh courage from their victory, and the cool though determined and vigorous conduct of General Sheaffe,[1] and the gallant behaviour and spirited exertions of every officer under his command on that occasion, claim from us every confidence in the anticipation of the future.

Mrs. S. A. Curzon: *Laura Secord and Other Poems, Appendix No.* 1, pp. 201–6.

From Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Evans ("*Acting Brigade-Major to the Forces*").

Government House,
Fort George, Oct. 15, 1812.

After dinner on the evening of the 11th inst., Major-General Brock handed me a note from Captain Dennis, commanding flank companies of the 49th Regiment at Queenstown. After perusing its contents, which were of an alarming nature, setting forth the highly mutinous state of his detachment, his men having deliberately threatened to shoot their officers, etc., the General said, "Evans, you will proceed early in the morning and investigate this business, and march, as prisoners, in here, half-a-dozen of those most culpable, and I will make an example of them. You can also cross the river and tell Van Rensellaer I expect he will immediately exchange the prisoners taken in the *Detroit* and *Caledonia* [two vessels coming from Amherstburgh cut out by Americans

[1] Whatever may have been the mistakes or shortcomings of General Sheaffe on other occasions in this war, he showed vigour and determination at this crisis, and for his services was created a baronet.

whilst at anchor at Fort Erie] for an equal number of Americans I released after the capture of Detroit."

I reached Queenstown early in the morning of the 12th, and finding many of the grenadier company confined, and the guard-house gutted, and Captain Dennis himself in apparent alarm at the state of things, I proposed proceeding at once to select those most prominent, for example. At this juncture, however, and when about leaving Hamilton's house [Captain Dennis' quarters] a scattered fire of musketry from the American shore took place, and on a musket ball entering the room passing betwixt us, I inquired with surprise the meaning of such unusual insolence. Captain Dennis stating the practice to have existed more or less for some days, insomuch as to render ingress by the river door hazardous, I deemed it fitting first to cross the river, desiring Captain Dennis would prepare his men against my return. On passing along the river bank for Mr. T. Dickson, the enemy kept up an incessant fire of musquetry till I entered that gentleman's house, but happily without mischief. I now begged Mrs. Dickson kindly to prepare a white handkerchief as a flag of truce, asking Mr. Dickson, who was a Captain of Militia, would he accompany me across the water; he had no objection, but both Mrs. Dickson and all present urged the danger of any attempt to cross, convinced as they were, in the enemy's then temper, the flag would not be respected. Feeling this to be no time for discussing about personal safety, I took Dickson by one hand and the flag in the other, then descending the precipitous steep to the water's edge, we launched our frail canoe amidst an unsparing shower of shot which fell all around us; nor did the firing cease till the canoe, become quite unmanageable, tossed about in the waters of the strong eddies; when, as if struck by shame at his dastardly attempt to deter us from our purpose the enemy gave the signal to cease fire. I was thus relieved (and enabled) on approaching the shore to observe more

calmly all that was passing. On touching the ground, with water in the leaky canoe ankle deep, I was about, as was my custom, leaping ashore, when a sentinel from a guard brought to the spot, came to the charge with fixed bayonet, authoritatively commanding me not to leave the boat. To my enquiry for Colonel Solomon Van Rensellaer, (the Adjutant-General) with whom I usually conferred, I was told he was sick. I then stated having an important message from General Brock for their Commander, which if inconvenient for their General to receive from me personally, I begged an official person might be immediately deputed to convey it to him. After some delay, Mr. Toock, the General's Secretary, made his appearance, but his reply to General Brock's request being abrupt, and as I thought somewhat significant, "that nothing could be done till the day after to-morrow," I ventured to remind him of General Brock's liberality towards their people which the fortune of war had thrown into his hands, entreating that he would again consult his General, and enable me to carry to mine something more satisfactory. In compliance, as he stated, with my wishes, but as it appeared to me, more with the intent to consume my time, rendered precious from its being after midday, he detained me in my miserable position for more than two hours, and then returned expressing the General's regret "that the prisoners having been marched for Albany they could not instanter be brought back, but that I might assure General Brock with his respects that all should be settled to their mutual satisfaction the day after to-morrow." I was now too anxious to depart to wish the parley prolonged, my mind being quite made up as to the enemy's intentions, and to the course it was most fitting for me to pursue under the circumstances. It had not escaped me that their saucy numbers had been prodigiously swelled by a horde of half-savage troops from Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee, which evidently made it hazardous for their northern countrymen to show their accustomed respect

for a flag of truce from a foe; but my most important discovery was their boats slung in the sides or fissures on the river bank covered only by the brush, with indeed many decided indications that an attack on our shores could not be prudently delayed for a single day. Under such impression the first thing on reaching our own side was the removal by Mr. Dickson of his family from his own house on the beach, the very site of the prospective struggle, and giving note of preparation to the few militia which, with the 49th flank companies, were all the immediate disposable force for the defence of Queenstown. Aware of the imminence and magnitude of the danger, the lateness of the hour, after three P.M., and distance from Fort George, Headquarters more than six miles, I hesitated not assuming the responsibility of liberating all the 49th prisoners, on the specious plea of their offence proceeding from a too free indulgence in drink, appealing to them for proof of their loyalty and courage, which they were assured would be severely tested ere another day dawned. Then, after a rapid but effective arrangement of the several points requiring attention, seeing to the re-supply of fresh ammunition, and infusing all the spirit and animation in my power to impart, I left Captain Dennis, exhorting his utmost diligence in keeping his charge on the alert for repelling the enemy's attempt, which I foresaw would not be deferred. Having to put the many posts on the line of communication on the *qui vive*, although I rode at full speed, it was past six P.M. ere I reached Fort George, and then from having been exposed for thirteen hours, under much anxiety, to wet feet and extreme heat, without refreshment of any kind, I was so exhausted as to be unequal to further immediate effort Refreshed, I narrated to General Brock all that had occurred, the precautionary steps I had taken, and the responsibility I had assumed as to the 49th prisoners, which, under the stated circumstances, I trusted he would approve, and at once authorize my making preparations for coming events,

so indispensably required. The General evidently doubting at first, hesitated, but seeing my earnestness in rebuking his attendants of charging my being over-sanguine, and chagrin at their proffered bets against my predictions, he became unusually grave, desired I would follow him to the office, where at his request I succinctly recapitulated the day's occurrences, adding my solemn conviction that a moment was not to be lost in effectually preparing for defence.

The General now thanked me, approved of all that I had done, and, returning to the dining room, directed officials to be immediately written and despatched by Provincial Dragoons, calling in the militia of the vicinity that same evening, those more distant to follow with all alacrity. I was directed to make all requisite preparations at Headquarters. In this work I was busied till near 11 P.M., with but few converts, however, to my convictions, when, worn down by fatigue, I stretched myself on my mattrass. After a slumber of a few hours I was aroused by a distant cannonade soon after two A.M., 13th October, but without surprise, well knowing the quarters where the ominous sound came. The General who, himself, had all in readiness, at once mounted his horse and proceeded for the post attacked. His Aides-de-Camp were awoke, and soon followed. Major-General Sheaffe, second in command, assumed charge at Headquarters, but the impression on General Brock's mind being that the attempt at Queenstown would prove only a feint to disguise his (the enemy's) real object from the creek in rear of Fort Niagara, his apparent wish was that whilst all were held in readiness to act in any quarter, no decisive movement by the troops should take place till the enemy's intentions were fully developed. The Indians and regular Artillery were, however, promptly despatched, and the *elite* of the 41st with an equal number of well-drilled militia flank companies ready to follow on the first summons. As the day dawned, the scouts I had sent out reporting no symptoms

of hostile movement in the quarter indicated, these troops all proceeded at double quick for the succour of Queenstown, the debouching of the head of which column on the main road appeared to be the signal for opening a brisk cannonade from Fort Niagara on the troops, the town, and Fort.

Soon after, the news of the gallant Brock's unhappy fall reached us, which, by necessarily removing General Sheaffe to Queenstown, the command at Fort George devolved on me as next senior officer. At this moment the scene around was awfully discouraging, the gaol and court house were suddenly wrapped in flames, which as containing many political prisoners, I at first imagined the act of an incendiary, but other buildings soon appearing in a similar state of conflagration left me no longer in doubt as to the new enemy of hot shot with which we had to grapple, and its easy distance, on wooden edifices I foresaw, must be attended with very destructive effect. Luckily, a *posse* of militia-men had now come in, which I distributed in separate bodies, collecting all the water-buckets and requisite implements from the inhabitants of the town.

This arrangement, though in part effective, from the energy and courage displayed in extinguishing the flames as they occurred, I felt to be insufficient in itself for our security; selecting therefore, all the old veteran militia artillerymen with two intelligent staff non-commissioned officers of the 41st, by bending our whole efforts to the attainment of one object, we at length succeeded in stopping the mischief by diminishing and crippling the enemy's guns, but not before he had burnt to the ground many buildings, amongst the number, beside the gaol and court house, the Chief Engineer's quarters; the more important ones, however, the "Royal Barracks," "Block House," "King's Stores" and other public buildings, though repeatedly fired were, by steady and untiring intrepidity, preserved. Thus temporarily relieved, I was enabled

to attend to Capt. Derinzy's (commanding 41st Batt.) note, from which it appeared, he found on arriving at Queenstown, the enemy in possession of the opposite heights, and our heavy one-gun battery there :—that the enfilading on our side, too distant from the landing to be quite effective—then protected by his division—had been powerfully aided by Capt. Holcroft, of the Royal Artillery, who, unmindful of consequences, boldly dashed his gun through the valley into Hamilton's court-yard within point blank range, thus succeeding in sinking some of the enemy's crowded boats, and damping the ardour of his troops for crossing. Seeing his critical position Capt. Derinzy had sustained him by a party of the 41st Regiment. He briefly mentioned that the spirited Brock finding on his arrival the 49th grenadiers and militia, though resolutely defending the landing-place, hard pressed, had called to their aid the 49th light company from the Height's summit, the key of the position. The enemy, profiting by this step, moved unperceived about 150 men—and over a precipitous steep it was deemed impracticable for a human being to ascend—who suddenly appeared to the astonished General just on the mountain summit, and the next instant in possession of the redoubt, putting its defenders to the sword. The gallant spirit of Brock, ill brooking to be thus foiled, with a courage deserving a better fate, hastily collected the weak 49th company and a few militia ; debouching from a stone building at the mountain's brow, with these little bands, he spiritedly strove to regain his lost position, but in which daring attempt he was killed by a rifle ball entering under the left breast, passing out by the right shoulder. Capt. Williams by taking a wider range, made a second effort, but as the result proved with too inadequate a force, the A.D.C. (McDonell), being mortally wounded and Capt. Williams' head partially scalped by a rifle ball.

These circumstances convinced me General Sheaffe would

be more circumspect than attack without a concentration of every disposable man. Under such impressions, after first despatching Lieutenant McIntyre, 41st Regiment, with about 140 men of his regiment and militia, and afterwards Wm. Martin with every regular soldier and a few active militia from Fort George, I hastened to forward, at all hazards, the most active of the men from the many posts on the line of communication. On starting those from Young's Battery, the enemy, as though by signal, re-opened his cannonade from Fort Niagara on Fort George and the town. However mortified by this unlooked-for occurrence, prudence required that whilst sending our whole effective force to Queenstown, Fort George and its dependencies should not be neglected, for what with the aliens and prisoners in the Block House, with those set at liberty by firing the gaol, their number was little short of 300, with but a few raw militia left for their security, or that of the fort or town. I was, therefore, left no alternative but to gallop back and ascertain the enemy's power for further mischief. Well it was that I did so, for on reaching the gate of Fort George, I met a crowd of the militia with consternation in their countenances, exclaiming the magazine was on fire. Knowing it to contain 800 barrels of powder, with vent side-walls, not an instant was to be lost. Captain Vigoreux, of the Engineers, therefore, at my suggestion, was promptly on its roof, which movement was with alacrity followed by the requisite number of volunteers, when by the tin being stripped off the blazing wood was extinguished. Thus was confidence reassured. The enemy, taking advantage of a bend in the river, had brought a battery with hot shot to enfilade the barracks, magazine and King's stores, and despite all our efforts to dislodge him he had effectively consumed the store-houses with all the lower buildings, and repeatedly set on fire the barracks and magazine. Our success was perfect; the enemy's fire being again silenced and the necessary precautions taken to avert future disaster,

I made another effort to reach Queenstown, when I met Captain Chambers, 41st Regiment, with the glad tidings that General Sheaffe, by a spirited and judicious movement away to his right, and crossing the vale high up with his collected forces, had approached—as to ground—his enemy on more favourable terms, and that his operations had resulted in the enemy's complete destruction. But, for the details of this brilliant success I must refer to the despatches of the distinguished officer who, with his gallant troops, achieved it.

(Signed) THOMAS EVANS,
Brigade Major to the Forces.

Van Rensselaer's *Narrative—Appendix*, pp. 77 to 79.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Van Rensselaer at Lewiston.

Fort George, 16th Oct., 1812.

Sir,—

I have heard with great regret, that Col. Van Rensselaer is badly wounded. If there be any thing at my command, that your side of the river cannot furnish, which would be either useful or agreeable to him, I beg that you will be so good as to have me apprised of it.

I have the honour to be, sir, with much esteem,
Your very devoted servant,
R. H. SHEAFFE.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Van Rensselaer at Lewiston.

Fort George, 16th Oct., 1812.

Sir,—

As the period assigned to the cessation of hostilities is drawing to a termination; and the intended exchange of prisoners and sending over the wounded and the militia will require much more time than remains of it; and as, moreover, part of this day is to be devoted to paying the last offices

of humanity to the remains of my departed friend and General I feel it to be my duty to propose a prolongation of the armistice to such a period as may be necessary for the complete execution of those humane purposes. Lists are prepared for all the prisoners here, distinguishing those of the line from militia; and Brigade Major Evans, who has been appointed by me to arrange the business with Capt. Dox, will be ready to proceed in it, as soon as that officer comes over.

I have the honour, &c.

From Van Rensselaer at Lewiston to Sheaffe at Fort George.

Head-Quarters, Lewiston,
Oct. 16th, 1812.

Sir,—

I have this moment had the honour to receive your two letters of the present date. I most cheerfully agree to extend the cessation of hostilities for a time amply sufficient to discharge all duties of humanity to the brave who are wounded, or prisoners; and the just tribute of respect to the gallant dead. For these purposes I agree to the further cessation of hostilities, until 4 o'clock of the afternoon of the 19th instant.

I shall order a salute for the funeral of General Brock to be fired here, and at Fort Niagara, this afternoon.

You will please to accept, sir, the grateful acknowledgments of Col. Van Rensselaer and myself, for your kind offer of anything in your power which might contribute to his comfort. I do not know that he is at present destitute of any thing essential.

As this, sir, is probably the last communication I shall have the honour to make to you from this station, I avail myself of the opportunity to tender you the assurance of my great esteem and consideration.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Van Rensselaer at Lewiston.

Fort George, 16th Oct., 1812

Sir,—

I feel too strongly the generous tribute which you propose to pay to my departed friend and chief, to be able to express the sense I entertain of it. Noble-minded as he was, so would he have done himself.

I have directed the prolongation of the armistice until four o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th instant, to be communicated along this line.

I feel a perfect confidence, sir, that nothing will be omitted on your part to ensure a strict execution of the agreement respecting the militia officers and men, as well as any others not yet exchanged, who are released from their captivity.

Allow me, sir, to express a hope that the time is not far distant when the restoration of peace and amity between our respective countries, may afford me an opportunity of assuring you, personally, of the respect and esteem with which

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your most obedient and devoted servant,
R. H. Sheaffe,
Maj. General, &c.

Archives, G. 398.

From Sheaffe at York to Bathurst, Downing Street.

N°. 1. York Upper Canada
20th October 1812

My Lord,

In consequence of the death of Major General Brock, late President administering the Government of this Province, who gloriously fell in an action with the Enemy at Queenstown, on the thirteenth instant, I have the honor of announcing to your Lordship that conformably with the additional Instructions of the thirteenth of July eighteen hundred

and eleven, I have repaired to this place to meet the Honorable The Executive Council, before which I have this day taken the Oaths prescribed as a member thereof, and as President to administer the Civil Government of this Province.

I do myself the honor of transmitting herewith an extract from my Dispatch of the thirteenth instant to His Excellency Sir George Prevost, for the further information of your Lordship on the subject of the Public loss which it has become my duty to communicate to you. . . .

Lieutenant Colonel MacDonell, Provincial Aid De Camp to the late President, and Attorney General of this Province, died on the 14th of the wounds he received in the action at Queenstown. . . .

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your Lordship's
most Obedient
And most devoted Servant
(signd) R. H. Sheaffe,
M Genl & President &c &c

Archives, C. 1168, p. 318.

Adjutant General's Office.

Head Quarters, Montreal 20th October 1812.

General Orders—

Information having been this day received by an Express from York, in Upper Canada, of an Action having taken place on the 13th Instant, between the British and American Troops on the Lines, between Niagara and Fort Erie.—His Excellency The Commander of the Forces, takes the earliest opportunity of communicating to the Troops, the Total defeat of the Enemy, with the loss of *Nine hundred Prisoners*, of whom One hundred and fifty had arrived at York, previous to the

departure of the Express, by whom the Intelligence has been received.—

Successful as the result of this Engagement has been, and in a high degree Glorious to His Majesty's Arms, it is with feelings of the deepest regret, that His Excellency announces to the Troops, the *loss* of *Major Gen*^{l}. *Brock* of whose distinguished zeal, talents and Courage, his Country was deprived at day break on the 13th Instant—shortly after the commencement of the Engagement, to the victorious termination of which, his able dispositions had Contributed, not less than the determined bravery of the handful of Troops under his Command.—

(Signed) Edw^{d}. Baynes
Adj^{t} Gen^{l} N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 320.

Adjutant General's Office.
Head Quarters, Montreal 21st Oct^{r}. 1812

General Orders.

His Excellency The Commander of the Forces has received an Official Report from Major General Sheaffe, of the Brilliant Victory atchieved on the 13th Instant, by a Portion of the Troops under his Command, over a Division of the Enemy's Army, which effected a landing at Queenstown, under Cover of the Night.—That Post was, nevertheless, defended with undaunted Gallantry, by the two Flank Companies of the 49th Regiment, animated by the presence of their gallant, and ever to be lamented Chief, Major General Brock, whose valuable life was, on this occasion, devoted to his Country's service. These Companies displayed exemplary discipline & Spirit, altho' the Captains of both were wounded, and succeeded in keeping the enemy in Check until the arrival of Major General Sheaffe with reinforcements.—

The disposition of the Forces, and Plan of attack adopted by Major General Sheaffe, cannot receive a higher or more just praise, than by stating, that *900* Prisoners of War, under the Command of Brig^{r}. General Wadsworth, surrendered their Arms to a force inferior in numbers, and without sustaining any considerable loss on Our part.—

A Six Pounder and a Stand of Colours have been taken from the Enemy.

Major General Sheaffe's Report of the zeal and undaunted gallantry that animated every Officer and Soldier of his Army, affords The Commander of the Forces the most heartfelt satisfaction, and will be a most gratifying duty to His Excellency to bring before the notice of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.—

Lieu^{t}. Col^{l}. Myers, Dep^{y} Quarter Master General was stationed in charge of Fort Erie, and succeeded in completely silencing the Fire of the Enemy, drove a detachment from the encampment near the Black Rock, destroyed a Barrack in which was a considerable depôt of Ammunition. It's explosion must have killed many. The Caledonia, lately captured by the Enemy, was destroyed at her moorings.—

Lieu^{t}. Col^{l}. Myers speaks highly of the discipline of the detachment of the 49th Reg^{t}. under Major Ormbsby, and of the Skill and Spirit with which the Guns were served, under Captain Kirby and Lieu^{t}. Bryson of the Militia.—

Essential Service was rendered by Brigade Major Evans, left in charge of Fort George ; a well directed Fire from that Work succeeded in Silencing the Enemy's Batteries on the opposite side.—Capt^{n} Vigoureux R^{l} Eng^{r}, Colonel Claus, and Captains Powell & Cameron of the Militia, were zealous and indefatigable in their exertions, particularly in extinguishing Fires which broke out in the Court house and other places from Red-hot-Shot fired by the Enemy.—

Captains Dennis & Williams of the Flank Companies of the 49th Regiment, have particularly distinguished them-

selves, the former Officer retained the Command of his Company of Grenadiers to the end of the Conflict, tho' suffering severely from his Wound.—

To Captain Holcroft of the Royal Artillery, the highest praise is due for his successful and judicious co-operation.—The well directed fire of the Artillery Militia, as well as Regular, is the best proof of the indefatigable zeal and Talents of that Officer.

Major Merritt, Commanding the Niagara Dragoons accompanied and rendered essential assistance with part of his Corps.—Capt^{n} A. Hamilton belonging to it, was disabled from Riding and attached himself to the Guns under Capt^{n} Holcroft, who speaks highly of his activity and usefulness.—

Lieu^{t} Crowther 41st Reg^{t} had charge of Two Field Pieces which were employed with good effect.—

Captains Derenzy and Bullock are represented to have maintained the high reputation of the 41st Regiment, in the detachments under their respective Commands.—

Major General Sheaffe reports having received essential Service from Captain Glegg, Aid-de Camp to Major General Brock.—Lieu^{t} Fowler 41st Reg^{t} Dep^{y} Assist^{t} Q^{r} M^{r} Gen^{l}, and Lieutenant Ker of the Glengary Light Inf^{y} Fenc^{s} employed with the Flanking Party of Indians.—

The emminent Services and Talents of Lieu^{t} Col^{l} MacDonnell, Provincial Aid-de Camp & Attorney General of the Province, are recorded by the most honorable testimony of the Gallant General, whose steps he followed during his Short but Glorious career, nor quitted him in Death.—

Volunteers Shaws, Thompson, and Jarvis, attached to the Flank Companies of the 49th Reg^{t} conducted themselves with great Spirit, the first was wounded and the last taken Prisoner.—

The Major General particularly mentions the Services of Lieu^{t} Colonels Butler and Clark of the Militia, and Captains Hatt, Durand, Rowe, Applegarth, James Crooks, Cooper,

Rob^{t}. Hamilton M^{c}Ewen and Duncan Cameron, and Lieu^{ts} Richardson and Thomas Butler Commanding Flank Companies of the Lincoln and York Militia who led their men into Action with great Spirit.—

The Major General Reports the conduct of the Indians employed on this occasion, as meriting the highest praise for their good Order and Spirit, and particularly he Names the Chief Norton, who was wounded.—

Several Gentlemen volunteered their Services in the Field and shared in the honor of the day. M^{r} Clouch and M^{r} Willcox were of the number, and the Major General witnessed the zealous conduct of many others not named in this Report.—

Major General Sheaffe had humanely consented to a cessation of offensive hostility, on the solicitation of Major General Van Ranseller, for the purpose of allowing the Americans to remove the Bodies of their Slain and Wounded.

G.O.

Major General Roger Hale Sheaffe is appointed to the Command of the Troops in the Upper Province, and to administer the Civil Government of the Same.—

(Signed) Edw^{d}. Baynes
Adj^{t} Gen^{l} N.A.

Archives, C. 1168, p. 316.

[Adjutant General's Office.
Headquarters Montreal 22^{d} October 1812.]

G.O.

Lieutenant Colonel Pearson, Inspecting Field Officer of Militia is directed to proceed immediately to Fort George and to place himself under the orders of Major General Sheaffe.—

G.O.

Mr Richard Gilkinson is appointed a Clerk in the Commissariat with the Pay of 5/- Army Sterling per Day from the and is to be Stationed at the Post of Prescott.—

G.O.

In consequence of the Arrival of a sufficient supply of Rice, the General Order of the 17th September as respects a Commutation of Flour for Rice will be rescinded from the 25th instant, in the Garrison of Quebec, and at the other Posts in Lower Canada, as soon as the supply of Rice is furnished to each Post.—

G.O.

The General order of the 21st instant is to be read to the Troops under Arms in the Garrison of Quebec, and a Royal Salute and a Feu de joie to be fired in Celebration of the Splendid Victory obtained over the Enemy at Niagara on the 13th instant.—

G.O.

The Detachment of the Glengary Light Infantry Fencibles to March tomorrow morning to La Chine, and to proceed from thence by Water to Prescott, Captain Jenkins will report himself to Lieutenant Colonel Pearson.—

(Signed) Edward Baynes
Adjt General N: A:

Archives, C. 677, p. 166.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George 3rd November 1812

Sir

I have at last the satisfaction of reporting to Your Excellency the arrival of intelligence from Detroit, and likewise

from Michilimakinac—His Majesty's schooner Lady Prevost arrived some days since bringing M^r. Robert Dickson and M^r. Crawford ; when they left Detroit no other information had been received of the occurrences of the 13^th of October, than that M General Brock had fallen, and Queenstown was in the possession of the Enemy—Colonel Procter fearing that the communication was cut off would not send a written communication either by them or by Colonel Caldwell or Lieu^t. Barnard who have since arrived by land :—the substance of what the last was directed to say to me is contained in a written statement herewith enclosed, to which I have added M^r. Dickson's intelligence.

Whilst engaged in writing this dispatch Lieu^t. Colonel Bisshop has arrived by the way of York—and has brought me Your Excellency's despatch of the 21^st of October : I beg that Your Excellency will accept my very grateful thanks for the kind and gracious manner in which you have noticed my humble services ; fortune and the comparative composition of the corps which I commanded were quite adequate to the accomplishment of all that was effected on the 13^th of October. I am much mortified to find that I omitted the names of Captain Chisholm Commanding a Flank Company of the York Militia, and of Lieu^t. Ball Commanding the Militia Artillery attached to the post of Queenstown ; Captain Dennis's report, since transmitted, has partly supplied that omission ; he commends highly both those Officers, and in justice to them I have issued an order acknowledging my omission and their merit.—

I send to the Military Secretary some documents relative to appointments which appear to me to be beneficial to His Majesty's service, those in the Barrack Department were authorised by M. General Brock : I transmit also Major Heathcote's report of the attack made on the escort under his command, not being certain that a copy of it has been before sent down.—

The Enemy appears to be busily employed in preparing for another attack, and, I believe, has received reinforcements, and supplies of various kinds ;—a number of large boats has been conveyed up by land above the Falls, and are on the communication between Schlosser and Black rock, where the greater part of their force seems to be collected ; I have strengthened the right of our line, and I intend detaching to it a portion of the Indians, of whom there are about four hundred here ; but I shall be cautious of making any further diminution of the number on this flank ;

I suspect that after their demonstration on the frontier of the Lower Province, a large portion of their troops was withdrawn to act against the Upper Province.—

We are yet employed in raising works for the protection of the interior of Fort George ;—the Magazine is considered secure from the effect of hot shot.—

The Armistice still continues—and I hope will not be terminated before the arrival of the Vessels with the supplies for the Militia—many of whom are in a very destitute state with respect to clothing, and all in what regards bedding and Barrack comforts in general :—these wants cause discontent and desertion, but the conduct of a great majority of them is highly honourable to them, and I have not failed to encourage it, by noticing it in public orders. Their number in this district has been so much increased since the nomination of a Paymaster for it, and his business is so much in arrear, that I have been compelled to appoint two other Paymasters for the Corps distributed along this frontier.—

I wrote to Captain Glegg who is at York, to acquaint him with Your Excellency's gracious offer to him, which I have no doubt he will be proud to accept.

I hope that a favourable reception has been accorded to my request to have Captain Loring sent to me.—

An Express has arrived this afternoon from Colonel Procter—I transmit copies of the letters received by it.—

I have the honour to be,
With high respect
Your Excellency's,
Most devoted,
humble Servant,
R H Sheaffe
M Gen[l] &c &c

Archives, C. 256, p. 194.

[Endorsement] Council of Condolence Fort George, 6[th] Nov[r] 1812.

At a General Council of Condolence held at the Council house Fort George 6[th] November 1812 with the Six Nations, Hurons Chippawas, Potawatamies &[ca].

Present. William Claus Esq[r] Dep[y] Sup[t] General
Captain Norton
Captain J. B. Rousseaux and
several other Officers of the Indian Departm[t]

Koseaneyonti, Little Cayouga Chief Speaker

Brother, The Americans have long threatened to strike us, and in the beginning of the Summer they declared War against us, and lately they commenced Hostility by invading the country at Queenstown in this contest which with the help of God terminated in our favor your much lamented Commander General Brock his Aid de Camp Colonel M[c]-Donell and several Warriors have fallen.

Brother, We therefore now seeing you darkened with Grief your Eyes dim with Tears, and your throat stopt with the force of your affliction. With these strings of Wampum we wipe away your Tears, that you may view

clearly the surrounding objects, we clear the passage in your throat that you may have free utterance for your thoughts, and we wipe clean from Blood the place of your abode, that you may sit there in comfort without having renewed the remembrance of your loss by the remaining stains of blood.

8 Strings White Wampum

Brother, That the remains of your late beloved friend and commander General Brock shall receive no injury we cover it with this Belt of Wampum, which we do from the grateful sensations which his friendship towards us continually inspired, as also in conformity to the Customs of our Ancestors, and we now express with the Unanimous voice of the Chiefs, and Warriors of our respective Bands the great respect in which we hold his memory, and the sorrow and deep regret with which his loss has filled our hearts. Although he has taken his departure for a better abode, where his Many Virtues will be rewarded by the Great dispenser of good who has led us on the Road to Victory.

A large White Belt

rother, We now address the Successor of our Departed friend to express the confidence we feel that his heart is warmed with similar sentiments of affection and regard towards us. We also assure him of our readiness to support him to the last, and therefore take the liberty to exhort him to speak strong to all his people to co-operate with vigor and trusting in the powerful Arm of God not to doubt of Victory.

Although our numbers are small yet counting him on our side who ever decides on the day of Battle we look for Victory whenever we shall come in contact with our Enemy.

5 Strings White Wampum

(Copy)

W. Claus D.S.G.

Archives, C. 1169, p. 63.

G.O. [Montreal 15th Novemr 1812]

The Commander of the Forces has received from Major General Sheaffe but too late to notice in the General Order of the 21st October, an Official report of the zeal and active assistance rendered in the Action of the 13th Ulto at Queenstown by Captain Swayne [Swayze ?] of the Artillery Drivers and by the Companies of Captain Chisholm and Applegarth, who joined with the other Companies of Militia already noticed in Gallantly supporting the Flank Companies of the 49th Regiment.—

(Signed) E. Baynes A.G.

Archives, C. 1170, p. 111.

Head Quarters. Montreal 10th March 1813.

General Orders

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has received the Command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to convey to Major General Sheaffe His Royal Highness's entire approbation of the distinguished Services of that Officer, and of the zealous exertions and exemplary courage displayed by the Officers and Troops under his Command in the Attack made by the Enemy at Queenstown on the 13th October last.

As a testimony of His Royal Highness's sense of Major General Sheaffes Services, He has been graciously pleased to confer upon him the Title of Baronet of the United Kingdom, and the Brevet Rank of Major to Captain Holcroft of the Royal Artillery, and Captains Dennis and Williams of the 19th [49 ?] Regiment, who were particularly mentioned on that occasion.

His Royal Highness is fully aware of the Severe loss which

His Majesty's Service has experienced in the death of Major Gen[l] Sir Isaac Brock.—

His Royal Highness has also been graciously pleased to express His regret at the loss which the Province of Upper Canada must experience by the death of the Attorney General L[t]. Col. M[c]Donnell, whose zealous co-operation with Sir Isaac Brock Will reflect lasting honor on His Memory.

(Signed) J. Rowan,
D[y] Ass[t] Adj[t] Gen[l]

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP II. (*continued*)

BROCK, 1812

5. Niagara Frontier: Frenchman's Creek, November 28, 1812

Archives, Upper Canada State Book F, p. 101.

At a Council held at the Government House, at York
On Thursday the 29[th] of October 1812

Present

His Honor Roger Hale Sheaffe, Esquire, President
The Honorable Thomas Scott, Chief Justice
The Honorable John M[c]Gill
The Honorable M[r]. Justice Powell
The Honorable Prideaux Selby

The President represented to the Board, that there are certain Persons some of whom are now in this Province actually detained who refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance under the 45[th] Clause of the Statute passed the 5[th] of August 1812, pleading in justification of such refusal, that they are

Citizens of the United States, and owe Allegiance thereunto, and they are desirous of being permitted to quit this Province and requested the advice of the Council upon the expediency of sending Persons of that description out of the Country as Alien Enemies.

The Board recommended to His Honor to send the Native Citizens of the United States out of the Province—But that Robert M^{c}Gregor, and William M^{c}Gregor, being Natural Born Subjects of the King, who left Ireland not four years ago, and have been resident as Settlers for more than twelve months within the Province, be Prosecuted under the 14th Clause of the aforesaid Act.

List of the Persons' Names alluded to by His Honor the President.

James Minor—Jesse Turner—
Samuel Moore—Grove Curtis—
James Halsey—Paul Cool—
Joseph Smith—William Smith
Frederick Salsbury—Ephraim Brown } Born in the United States of America.

Robert M^{c}Gregor & William M^{c}Gregor—Born in Ireland.

Adjourned

John Small
C E C

Archives, C. 673, p. 183.

Statement of John Burkholder.

Copy/ Fort George 31 Oct^{r} 1812

John Burkholder, born in Pennsylvania State, U.S. but a resident of Upper Canada for the last 12 Years, having taken the Oath of Allegiance 11 Years back, states, that he left home for the United States on the 14th of May last; that before he could return, war was declared, when he was refused permission to pass back into Canada. On the 13th of July

last, he applied for leave to cross from General Wadsworth, who refused, and Ordered him back to Pennsylvania, and to leave the lines in one hour.—On the 21st inst. he again came to Black Rock, and on the 24th he made his escape, by means of a Raft, to Grand Island, two days after which he was taken off, by a Boat of Ours, who perceived him hoisting a Shirt by way of a white flag—He reports that he heard from various Quarters that the Enemy had, previous to the Action at Queenston, about 8000 men; that he does not think that there are so many now; that the people are much divided and discontented; that in the interior, two thirds of the people at least, are for peace—Their principal force is stationed at present betwixt Lewistown and Black Rock; that he heard they intended to attack about this time, and from what he saw, he thinks Black Rock, and betwixt Grand and Navy Islands as the most likely points of attack—he saw 7 or 8 pieces of Cannon taken on Waggons from Lewiston to Black Rock—There was to have been a Council of War held by General Smith, on Monday last—He represents the Roads from Batavia as deep and almost impassable; that their provisions are little, badly prepared, and except Beef, of bad quality—the men complained of getting no vegetables, and were unhealthy with remittent fevers—He saw the prisoners from this side on their return home; they speak highly of their treatment by the British, which had made a great impression on the people of the Country, whom he says, would not be at War, only that the British ill used them at Sea, and this was the only revenge they could take. The Enemy are building small Hutts or Cabbins about one mile & a half or two miles back of Black Rock, stretching towards Buffaloe, and that the greater part of their whole force is in that Neighbourhood.—On Saturday night when he left, he heard a report that an Express had just arrived in 36 hours from Albany at Black Rock, but he knew not any particulars—He says that the Democrats are violent against General Van Rensselaer, whom they denounce as

having warned us by lights, Six days before the Attack took place.

Taken before me this 31st October 1812—
(signed) Thos Evans
Major of Brigade

Archives, C. 677, p. 173.

From Sheaffe at York to Prevost at ——.

York 8th November 1812

Sir,

I arrived here last night, having come over to execute some provincial business, and I propose returning tonight to Fort George.—I found Doctor Redmond here, and was honoured by him with Your Excellency's despatch of the 27th of October: It mortifies me extremely that my conduct with regard to the Prisoners, and in allowing B. General Wadsworth to go on his parole with the rest of the Militia is not approved of by Your Excellency; in adopting it, I was encouraged by motives of duty, conceiving that it would be productive of public benefit: a similar consideration influenced me in acceding to the Armistice; which I shall terminate as soon as it shall appear to me to cease to operate in our favour to such an extent as to justify it.

The Moira, with Colonel Nichol on board, and the Simcoe arrived yesterday at Fort George with Stores of various kinds; every exertion was making for landing them speedily and I gave directions for the immediate distribution of those articles which the Militia particularly require.

The moment that an Officer of the Artillery arrives at Fort George, Lieutenant King shall be ordered to this post that his services may be devoted to the Marine department.

I have directed an enquiry to be made into our Naval resources, and reports to be made thereon, preparatory to such exertions as Your Excellency may think proper to

authorise in order to counteract the efforts of the Enemy, and to preserve the ascendancy of our Marine :—Captain Earle reports in a letter to L^{t}. Colonel Myers that they are building " a large Vessel, and several Gun boats " at Sackett's Harbour :—elsewhere on this lake, as well as on Lake Erie, similar exertions may be expected on the part of the Enemy.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
Most respectfully devoted
and humble Servant
R H Sheaffe
M Gen^{l} &c &c

Archives, C. 688B, p. 127.

By His Honor Roger Hale Sheaffe Esquire, President Administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major General Commanding His Majesty's Forces within the same, &ca—&ca—&ca

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas divers Persons residing within the Limits of this Province claim to be exempt from Military Service on pretence of being Citizens of the United States of America, I have thought proper by and with the Advice of His Majesty's Executive Council for the Affairs of the Province, to direct and require, and I do hereby Direct and Require that all such Persons residing within the Western, London and Niagara Districts, do forthwith report themselves to the Board appointed at Niagara to examine into such Claims : And that all such Persons residing in the Midland, Johnstown and Eastern Districts do report themselves to the Board appointed at Kingston—And all such Persons residing in the Home and Newcastle Districts do in like manner report themselves to the Board appointed at York for the same purpose

in order, that if recognised to be Citizens of the United States of America, they may be furnished with proper Passports to leave the Province. And it is hereby made known, that every Citizen of the United States of America in this Province, who shall not before the first of January 1813, have reported himself to One of the said Boards, shall be taken to be an Alien Enemy, and shall be liable to be treated as a Prisoner of War, or as a Spy, as Circumstances may dictate.—

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at York this Ninth Day of November in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight hundred and Twelve and of His Majesty's Reign the Fifty third.

R H Sheaffe
President &c

Archives, C. 228, p. 80.

From Vincent at Kingston to Sheaffe at ——.

Copy/ Kingston 11th November 1812.

Sir,

I sent off an express yesterday to the Commanding Officer at York, that some very suspicious Vessels had appeared and were making for the Bay of Quinty.—I had reason to suppose that a landing was intended. I since find it was the American Brig the Oneida, and six small Vessels with one or two heavy Guns each—a twenty four and thirty two pounder.—From their actions, I must suppose their visit was only intended to cut out the Royal George. The Commodore did not think his force sufficient as a match for the Fleet against him, and placed his Vessell between our Batteries. At two o'Clock yesterday they passed this Post, exchanging shots with our Batteries and several broad-sides with the Royal George, until it was dark. They returned for the night to the four mile point, and there anchored. This morning they left us, we suppose, to return into Port.

It is to be lamented, that the Guns we have here are only nine pounders, and the Enemy kept at too great a distance, still a few of our shot struck them, and notwithstanding the whole of their fire was directed against the Royal George, she suffered but little. One man killed,—a two and thirty pound shot lodged in her bottom, and her rigging much cut.

I have to request some arms may be sent to this post and Prescott. On this late business I had no arms to give out of Store if an Enemy had landed. Two hundred and thirty men came in as volunteers to join the Militia.

I send this off in a hurry to prevent the Moira sailing without some Convoy. I propose sending off some of your Prisoners of War tomorrow. Six more have died since my last return.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient
humble Servant
(Signed) John Vincent
Colonel.

P.S. The Simcoe is reported to have just come in. She met the American Fleet, who chased her for some time, and got in safe. I suspect this Fleet will return to Sackett's Harbour without having anything to boast of.

Archives, C. 1169, p. 60.

G.O. Montreal 14th November 1812.

Major McDonnel and One Company of the Glengary Light Infantry will proceed immediately to La Chine, and form an Escort to Stores ordered for Kingston.—

All Officers and Men belonging to Regiments in Upper Canada, are to avail themselves of this opportunity of joining their respective Corps with the least possible delay.—

The Acting Deputy Quarter Master General is directed to proceed with this Escort ; he will arrange the distribution of the Stores, and the route of the Detachment.—

Archives, C. 228, p. 83.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George 16th November 1812.

Sir,

I was honoured on the 14th Instant, with Your Excellency's despatch of the 30th of October by Captain Loring ; he, also, brought me a Report from Colonel Vincent of the attack made on the Royal George in the port of Kingston by the Enemy's flotilla from Sacket's harbour ; though it retired without having effected much mischief, the attempt indicates great confidence in their strength, and, perhaps, was made with a view to discovering ours at that point, and the position of our batteries : The Moira sailed from York on the afternoon of the 11th Instant, and on the following day there was a fall of snow, with a fresh wind from the North West, I have therefore hopes of her having arrived at Kingston unmolested by the Enemy, who, probably, had thought it prudent to return to his own port : The Moira had on board a twenty four pounder captured at Detroit, with some ammunition for it—it was intended for Prescot, but if it fortunately arrive safe at Kingston, Colonel Vincent will no doubt think it prudent to detain it there.—

The wind has blown fresh from the North West for many days, and has kept the Prince Regent here ;—a Rifle Company is going over to York in that vessel, and I send in her the necessary aid for preparing a furnace for heating shot.

I transmit information recently received from the other side ; the force of the Enemy is variously stated, but I believe it to be nearer the smallest than the greatest number assigned

to it. Doctor Redmond having completed his inspection of the Hospitals in this district, will proceed to York in the Prince Regent, and go down from thence by land.

The Lady Prevost is reported to have arrived today from Detroit, the letters she may have brought are not yet come down ;—it is now late, and I shall tomorrow add any intelligence I may receive by her.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient,
and most humble Servant
R H Sheaffe
M Gen[l] Comm &c.

Archives, C. 677, p. 194.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George 19th November 1812.

Sir,

I have the honour of acquainting Your Excellency that about half past eight oClock this night I received a letter from Major Ormsby Commanding at Fort Erie, dated at half past twelve this day,—inclosing a letter addressed *to him* from Brigadier General Smyth, Commanding "the Army of the Centre" as he styles it, in which he announces that the Armistice is to terminate "at nine oClock tomorrow evening the 20th Instant."

The despatch which this accompanies was intended to go with D[r]. Redmond in the Prince Regent to York, but the arrival from Detroit having given me some intelligence to add to it, and there being another Vessel at my disposal, and the Prince Regent having on board what might be essential to the defence of York, the wind being fair, I allowed her to sail ;—unfortunately the wind soon after shifted and has

detained the other Vessel,—but if the wind should not prove favourable early in the morning I shall send off an Express by land.—

L^t^. Colonel Bisshop returned this evening from a second inspection of the Militia ; —he had heard on his way down of the approaching termination of the Armistice, and imparted the intelligence to some of the Corps stationed on his route—who received it with strong marks of joy ; but I should wish to have had possession first of some essential articles for them, that are yet at Kingston—shoes particularly, of which it unfortunately happens that but a small portion has been brought up : I should have been glad, too, to have been joined by the party of the Artillery before the rupture of the Armistice ; as it is, I almost despair of their coming here—winter seems to have set in, a strong northwest wind has been blowing nearly a fortnight with the intermission only of the short period which permitted the sailing of the Prince Regent.

Whatever may be the event of another conflict with the Enemy, I feel confident that the troops in general that I have the honour to command will perform their duty.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient
humble Servant,
R H Sheaffe
M Gen^l^ &c.

Archives, C. 677, p. 202.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George 23^rd^ November 1812.

Sir,

Having formed the resolution of opening a fire on Fort Niagara after the expiration of the Armistice, with a view to

cripple it for a cooperation in any projected early attack on this flank, and to create a diversion in favour of the other flank, should the designs of the Enemy be directed against it, it being reported that his main body was assembled in front of it, preparations were accordingly made for the purpose, and the fire was commenced in the morning of the 21st —I had previously set out for the right flank thinking that my presence might be of much greater utility there, those able Officers Lt. Colonel Myers and Captain Holcroft being here to conduct the operations, assisted by Brigade Major Evans, under whose direction they had been so successful on the 13th of October.

The Report which I have the honour of transmitting from Lt. Colonel Myers will inform Your Excellency of the events of the day; the advantage, though not so great as might reasonably have been expected, is, however, on our side: the old building in front of Fort George that was burnt, intercepted the view of the beach from a commanding position—the damage done to the buildings in the Fort can be repaired in two or three days—none of our guns or works are injured, and we have only to lament the loss of one Inhabitant, Captain Fry an old Half pay Officer, who was killed whilst employed in collecting shot (as he said, to send back to the Enemy) and of a Private of the 49th Regiment:—some of the houses in the town were damaged particularly two or three of them, but not one was burnt, though it was found that the Enemy's shot were in general heated:—his expenditure in ammunition must have been very great, his fire having been very quick—it was, of course, ill directed: the number of his shot—already collected and added to our piles exceeds that which was fired by us,—the extent of the mischief done by our fire cannot be ascertained, but from the observations made, as noticed in the accompanying report, the damage and loss that the Enemy suffered must have been much greater than ours.—

In my visit to the other part of the line, I observed two large camps one at Schlosser, the other below Black rock—the troops appear to have been all withdrawn from the former—the other is partly concealed by an Island ;—I did not discover many men near it : their greatest assembly of troops is said to be near Buffalo, and is not visible from any part of our line : indications have been discovered of their preparing boats for a movement ; I have directed some Indians to be sent on Grand Island secretly, to watch their motions : Lieu^{t}. Colonel Bisshop, whom I find an active intelligent Officer, is at present on that flank ;—Major General Shaw who commanded there with the rank of Colonel in the Militia, and the pay of Lieu^{t}. Colonel, relinquished the command to resume the duties of Adjutant General of the Militia, in which his services were much wanted.—

The number of the Militia in the field has considerably increased since the notice of the termination of the Armistice, but it is partly in consequence of measures that had been previously adopted for calling in absentees ; they are very alert at their posts, and continue, generally to evince the best disposition : some old Loyalists, who bore arms in the American war have come in, though exempt from Militia service ; I retain them for the present, as they are still capable of stationary service, and their lessons and example cannot fail to have a happy influence on the Youth in the ranks of the Militia.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient,
humble Servant,
R H Sheaffe
M Gen^{l} Comm^{g} &c &c

Archives, C. 677, p. 219.

From Sheaffe at Chippawa to Prevost at ——.

Chippawa
30th November 1812

Sir,

I have the honour of reporting to Your Excellency that very early in the morning on the 28th, an attack was made on our batteries opposite to Black rock, they were wrested from us for a time by superior numbers; but Major Ormsby of the 49th Regiment, with a body of troops from Fort Erie having formed a junction with Lieut. Colonel Bisshopp who had moved up with great celerity from Chippawa with reinforcements; those of the Enemy who had not retired to their own shore, amounting to nearly forty, were made prisoners with Captain King who had commanded in the attack.

On receiving information of the attack I went up, having previously ordered a movement of some troops to strengthen those posts, from which reinforcements had been detached to the right flank; on my arrival there, I found the Enemy in great force, of which he seemed to make an ostentatious display, some on shore, some in boats, and perhaps with the hope of its giving effect to a summons which Lieut. Colonel Bisshopp had received to surrender Fort Erie.

When I approached the ground opposite to Black rock several large bodies of the Enemy were seen moving downwards; I suspected their intention to be either to advance from the bottom of Squaw Island in aid of a direct attack above it in front of Black rock, or that a design against this post, or some lower point was in contemplation. I therefore caused some detachments, that I had passed on the road, to be halted opposite to the foot of Squaw Island, and I

remained there till night approached, when I set off for this post ;—I continue here as being a central situation, in which I can quickly receive intelligence from either extremity of the line.—

It appears that in the affair of the 28th the loss on our part, if not the early success of the Enemy, was chiefly owing, to his having been mistaken for friendly succour coming from some neighbouring quarter.

Captain FitzGerald of the 49th Regt. was employed to carry to Black rock Lieut. Colonel Bisshopp's answer to the summons he received ; he saw B: General Smyth who desired him to survey his force—he counted fifty six large boats with men in them, and there was a great number of troops on shore, in all, he thought, about five thousand, and he saw six Scows with a field piece in each, and Horses with every appurtenance for field movement.—

I have not yet received Lieut. Colonel Bisshopp's official report, nor the Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, I wait for them to dispatch an Express.

Lieut. Colonel Bisshopp deserves high commendation for the spirit and activity he displayed, and great credit is due to the Officers and Men who acted under his orders.—It was unfortunate for the service that those valuable Officers Lieut. King of the Royal Artillery, and Lieut. Lamont of the 49th Regiment were so early disabled, otherwise the most beneficial effects might have been expected from their exertions.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient,
humble Servant,
R H Sheaffe
M Genl Commg &c

Archives, C. 677, p. 234.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George 4th December 1812

Sir,

Some circumstances rendering my presence here necessary, I came down yesterday from Chippawa.

I have the honour of transmitting Lieut. Colonel Bisshopp's report of the operations of the 28th of November, with a Return of the Killed Wounded and Missing, which I received yesterday evening;—I also inclose sundry other documents, among them is a Proclamation by B: General Smyth; its character altogether is such as reflects the greatest discredit on those who could authorise its publication: it has not yet fully answered its purpose.

From the information in some of the accompanying papers Your Excellency will perceive that a want of mutual confidence existed between the General and his troops; this is confirmed by intelligence I received this morning from Lieut. Colonel Bisshopp, that Assistant Surgeon Steele who had been taken prisoner on the 28th had returned, bringing the information that B. General Smyth had been forced to leave Buffalo, because he had declined moving his troops across the river.

The night before last I received a despatch from Colonel Procter, the substance of which is herewith transmitted; it was brought by Lieut. Merritt of the Provincial Dragoons who was employed to convey the supply of cash and Army bills to Depy. Assistant Commissary General Gilmour, who writes to the Depy. Commissary General that he feels confident of being sufficiently supplied with provisions until the opening of the navigation, without further aid from him; —which is fortunate, as a considerable quantity destined for Amherstburgh has not been forwarded, circumstances having conspired to prevent it.

Our Military chest is so nearly exhausted, and there are so many demands on it, that I have given my sanction to the Deputy Commissary General to issue notes, a transcript of the form of which is transmitted to the Commissary General.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient
humble Servant,
R. H Sheaffe
M Gen[l] Comm[s]

Archives, C. 677, p. 229.

Enclosure. From Lieutenant Colonel Cecil Bisshopp to Sheaffe.

Copy/

Frenchman's Creek near Fort Erie
Dec[r]. 1[st], 1812

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that on the morning of the 28[th] ul[to] between four and five o'Clock, a firing was heard at Chippewa, on the right of the line under my command. I proceeded instantly in that direction, having given orders for Captain Kerby of the Militia Artillery with a light six pounder, Captain Saunder's detachment of the 41[st] Reg[t]. and Capt[n]. Hamilton's company of the 2[d] Lincoln Regiment, to march under the command of Lieut. Col. Clark to reinforce the Right. On my arrival within six miles of Fort Erie, I overtook Major Hatt of the 5[th] Lincoln Reg[t]. with the Militia under his command, intending to march to oppose the Enemy, the 49[th] Reg[t], and the Light Company of the 41[st] Reg[t], under the command of Lieut M[c]Intyre having retreated to this position.

Major Ormsby informs me that about two o'Clock in the morning, the Enemy consisting of about 400 Men,

many of which were sailors effected a landing at the Red House, opposite the quarters of Lieut. Lamont 49th Regt, and succeeded in gaining possession of the Batteries, after having been most gallantly and warmly opposed, by Lieut. King of the Royal Artillery commanding two Field Pieces, and Lieut: Lamont with a party consisting of about 30 Men only, the remainder of his Detachment being stationed at the two Batteries on his right. Both these Officers were severely wounded; the former taken Prisoner. Captn. Bostwick commanding the Norfolk Militia stationed at the Ferry, on hearing the report of Musquetry, immediately ordered the men under his command to form, and marched to the point of Attack; After having exchanged a few rounds with the Enemy, and finding he was of superior force, he retired.

Lieut. Bryson of the Militia Artillery finding the Enemy gaining possession of the Batteries and being unable to defend himself against such a superior force, immediately spiked the 24 pounder, in the half moon Battery, prior to its falling into the hands of the Enemy. The Sentries at Fort Erie hearing a firing in the direction of the Batteries, Major Ormsby marched at two o'Clock, with the Detachment of the 49th Regt, consisting of eighty men, to meet the Enemy and to support the Batteries; leaving Captain Whelan, according to directions I had before given in case of an attack, with the Light Company of the Newfoundland Regt, to defend that Fortress. Major Ormsby advanced towards the Batteries, by the back road, to support Lieut Lamont, but having met with Lieut Bryson of the Militia Artillery, who informed him that the Enemy were in possession of the Batteries, it being then dark he changed his direction, and moved to the right, along the Front Road, below the Batteries, with a view of falling in with some part of Lieut Lamont's detachment, and likewise another party on the left, consisting of 35 Men stationed opposite to the end of Squaw Island

commanded by Lieut. Bartley, but who it appears had moved from thence early in the morning to the left, where the Enemy had likewise landed their Troops opposite to this place. Lieut. Bartley attacked the Enemy consisting of about 250 Men, and kept up a fire upon the Boats for about 15 or 20 minutes, when he observed a party coming towards him which he took to be our Militia, but finding them to be a party of the Enemy, and a number of his Men being killed, wounded, or missing, he retired, crossing Frenchman's Creek at the Mill a little above which he joined Major Ormsby, having only 16 or 17 Men left.

Major Ormsby whose detachment continued their march to Frenchman's creek, was fired on from a house above the Bridge, by a party of the Enemy, and having returned their fire with two or three rounds from his detachment, he succeeded in passing the Bridge, altho' partly destroyed by the Enemy. He here halted to ascertain the force opposed to him, but as it still continued very dark, he could neither see the Enemy, nor discover his movements. He then proceeded about a mile further on the Road downwards, where he was joined by Lieut M^{c}Intyre of the Light Infantry 41st Reg^{t}, and remained there until day light; when I arrived and immediately advanced with the whole of the force here, concentrated under Major Ormsby, and Major Hatt of the 5th Lincoln Militia, having under his command the different companies of Militia on this line, consisting of about 300 Men, towards this place, with a light 6 pounder, where we took Captain King of the United States Infantry, and about 30 Rank and file Prisoners. The Enemy at this time were crossing the River with a considerable number of Boats having about 30 Men in each, making towards the land. I ordered the 6 pounder to open upon them, which was ably directed by Bombardier Jackson of the Royal Artillery, and acted with much execution. I formed the line on the Bank, Major Ormsby and the 49th being on the right. After

a few Rounds from our Musquetry, the Enemy retired to the American shore, behind Squaw Island, having sustained considerable loss. The Indian Warriors under Major Givens having heard the Report of our Fire, immediately joined us. I then marched with the Light Company of the 41st to ascertain the number and position of the Enemy in our Front, in which movement, I received the greatest assistance from Major Givens, and the Indians under his Command. The Enemy had dismounted the Guns & left the Batteries. I ordered the Line to advance and took up a position in their rear, waiting his further operations. I had been joined by Lt. Col. Clark and his Detachment, from Chippewa. Captain Whelan still continued in Fort Erie, and had not been attacked during the absence of Major Ormsby and his detachment. The Enemy kept up a strong fire on our lines from their Batteries, till one o'Clock, when a flag of Truce came over, to summons Fort Erie, and to demand the surrender of that Post, to the American Army. A copy of General Smyths letter accompanies this dispatch. I sent Captain Fitz-Gerald of the 49th Regt with my answer, which was, that the troops under my Command being sufficient to repulse any attack from the Enemy, and having received reinforcements from below, I should not agree to his request. The 6 pounder taken by the Enemy in the morning, as likewise the three pounder were found without having sustained the least injury. Great credit is due to Captn. Kerby and the Artillery, for their exertions in getting up the Guns on the Batteries, which by the morning of the 30th we succeeded in, and have been ever since in expectation of an attack, but which the Enemy do not think proper to make. To Captain Kerby, Lieuts. Bryson and Ball of the Militia Artillery, and Bombardier Jackson of the Royal Artillery, the greatest credit is due, as well as to Lt. Colonel Nichol Qr. Mr. General of Militia, and Lieut Bernard Acting Staff Adjutant. I have also derived the greatest assistance from Lieut Col. Clark Commanding

the Militia, Major Ormsby commanding a detachment of the 49th Regt, and Major Hatt of the 5th Lincoln Militia, and all Officers in Command of Corps and Companies under my orders. The Norfolk Militia under Captain Bostwick gave a strong proof of the valor which has uniformly distinguished the Militia of this Country when called into action. I must likewise mention the names of Captain Whelan of the Newfoundland Regt Captains Chambers and Saunders of the 41st Captain FitzGerald 49th, and Captain Hamilton of the 2d Lincoln Militia, who first apprised me of the Enemy's movement. I inclose a list of the killed, wounded and missing. I have not been able to ascertain the loss of the Enemy, but from the numbers left on the field, and the boats there were sunk, it must have been very great.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
(signed) Cecil Bisshop
Lt Col. Commanding

Archives, C. 1220, p. 65.

Enclosure.

Return of killed, and Wounded, and missing of the following Corps of the division of the Army, serving in Upper Canada under the Command of Major General Sheaffe in an affair with the Enemy on the 21st and 28th November 1812.

21ST NOVEMBER 1812.

Royal Artillery—1 Rank and File Wounded.
49th Regiment—1 Rank and File Killed.

28TH NOVEMBER 1812.

Royal Artillery—1 Rank and File Killed:—1 Lieutenant, 1 Rank & file Wounded.

49th Regiment—12 Rank and file killed :—1 Lieutenant, 3 Sarjeants, & 22 Rank and file wounded,—3 Drummers and 21 Rank & file missing.

Militia Artillery—1 Serjeant Wounded

1st Regt Norfolk Militia—1 Serjeant Killed :—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, and 8 Rank and file wounded—2 Rank and file missing

2nd Regt Nk Militia—1 Rank and file Killed, 7 Rank and file wounded :—4 Rank and file missing

Total loss—14 Rank and file Line, 1 Serjeank, 1 Rank and file militia Killed.—2 Lieutenants, 3 Serjeants, 24 Rank & File Line :—1 Captain, 1 Lieutt, 1 Serjeant, and 15 Rank & file Militia wounded.—3 Drummers, and 21 Rank & file Line : 11 Rank & file Militia missing.

General total—1 Serjeant, and 16 Rank and file killed :—1 Captain, 3 Lieutts, 4 Serjeants, 39 Rank and file wounded :—3 Drummers, and 32 Rank and file missing.

Officers Wounded—Captain Bostwick 1st Nk Militia (slightly) Lieutt King Rl Artilly (severely) and taken prisoner : Lieutt Lamont 49th Regt (severely) Lieutenant Ryerson 1st Regt Norfolk Militia (severely).

(Signed) Thomas Evans
Major of Brigade

By His Excellency's Command
(Signed) Edwd Baynes
Adjt. General N.A.

Archives, Q. 119, p. 134.

Transcript from the original in the Public Record Office, London.

Enclosure.

SMYTH'S PROCLAMATION.

To the Men of the State of New York.

For many years you have seen your Country oppressed with numerous wrongs. Your Government, although above

all others devoted to peace, have been forced to draw the sword and rely for redress of injuries on the valour of the American people.

The valour has been conspicuous. But the Nation has been unfortunate in the selection of some of those who have directed it. One Army has been disgracefully surrendered and lost. Another has been sacrificed by a precipitate attempt to pass it over at the strongest point of the enemy's lines, with most incompetent means—The cause of this miscarriage is apparent.

The Commanders were popular men, "destitute alike of theory and experience in the art of war.

In a few days the Troops under my command will plant the American Standard in Canada.

They are men accustomed to Obedience, silence and steadiness. They will conquer or they will die.

Will you stand with your Arms folded and look on this interesting struggle? Are you not related to the men who fought at Bennington and Saratoga? Has the race degenerated? Or have you under the baneful influence of contending factions forgot your Country.—Must I turn from you and ask the men of the six Nations to support the government of the United States? Shall I imitate the Officers of the British King, and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished by ruinless [ruthless?] deeds? Shame, where is thy blush? No. Where I command the vanquished and peaceful man, the child, the maid, and the Matron, shall be secure from wrong. If we conquer, we will "conquer but to save."

Men of New York; the present is the hour of renown. Have you not a wish for fame? Would you not choose in future times to be named as one of those, who imitating the heroes whom Montgomery led, have in spite of the seasons, visited the tomb of the Chief, and conquered the Country where he lies? Yes. You desire your share of the fame. Then

seize the present moment. If you do not, you will regret it, and say, " the valiant have bled in vain : The friends of my Country fell—and I was not there."

Advance then to our Aid, I will wait for you a few days, I cannot give you the date of my departure. But come on, Come in companies, half companies, pairs, or singly, I will organize you for a short tour. Ride to this place if the distance is far, and send back your horses. But remember that every man who accompanies us places himself under my command, and shall submit to the salutary restraints of discipline. Alexander Smyth. Brig. Gen:

Camp near Buffalo, November 10. 1812.

Archives, C. 677, p. 260.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George 16th December 1812

Sir,

Captain Gray arrived here on the 14th—and delivered to me Your Excellency's despatch of the 15th of November. L Colonel Myers will set out as speedily as possible for the Lower Province, and will take with him all the information that can be collected of the means which this province can furnish for aiding in the execution of the plan which is proposed for the improvement of our Marine Establishment to such an extent as shall, at least, raise it to an equality with the force preparing by the Enemy ;—but for this important purpose, it must be owned, that assistance of the most essential kind must be drawn from sources that are not even under Your Excellency's control—besides Shipwrights, rigging, guns, and equipment of various sorts which the Lower province may be able to supply—Officers and Seamen from the Royal Navy will be required : an addition of some heavy guns will be necessary for the defence of the ports of Kingston

and York: it is desirable, too, to have some Gun boats carrying Guns of a large caliber—but the construction of these must probably be deferred as a secondary consideration, as it is not to be expected that we shall be able to engage at once in preparing every kind of Vessel which may be deemed useful :— Captain Gray will return to York and Kingston to give the necessary directions for commencing the work, and for putting in a state of active operation all the aids that we can command for contributing to its progress.—The details of the proposed plan will be taken down by L^{t}. Colonel Myers :—I have the honor of inclosing a general sketch of it.

It mortifies me extremely to have to report to Your Excellency, that both sickness and desertion increased among the Militia after the date of my last despatch—indeed the desertion was chiefly owing, I believe, to the distress in their families from sickness, & the want of assistance in various ways either for providing for their comfort or their subsistence during the winter :—it must be confessed, too, that the Militia were but ill prepared for such cold weather as we have experienced—The Clothing for them came up so late that with our defective means we could not get it made for them in time—and it unfortunately happened that but a small part of the shoes provided for them had arrived at Kingston, when L^{t}. Colonel Nichol sailed from thence with the supplies which he brought up ; the aid that we could obtain in shoes and leather from the neighbouring parts of the Province was too scanty to answer the demand, especially as a considerable number of Indians too, were to be supplied—the consequence was that a deficiency of shoes was rapidly increasing, and some Men were disabled from doing duty for want of them :— under all these circumstances it became necessary to adopt the measure of giving my sanction to the absence of the Battalion companies and of one flank company of each regiment, in order to prepare the way for an arrangement for rendering the Militia force on this frontier more numerous and effi-

cient at a short distance of time ; I hope to have it effected in the course of two or three weeks, and that the Enemy, in the meantime, will not be in a state to make an attack in such force as to overpower the resistance that can be opposed to him : I ought not, however, to conceal from Your Excellency my opinion, that we must continue to be befriended by good fortune, as well as by the defective plans and organization of the Enemy, to enable us to maintain this position through the Winter, even with all the aid that the best exertions of the militia may afford us ; for it appears probable that the efforts of the Enemy will be directed to this point, where it must be known that we are weak in number—with but little hope of any efficient reinforcement.—

B. General Smyth is reported to have returned to Buffalo.

Captain King who commanded the American troops in the attack on our batteries near Fort Erie, and is now a Prisoner here, has applied to be liberated on his parole, which I have declined granting until it shall be authorised by Your Excellency ; he is of a bold enterprising spirit, and appears to be held in high estimation on the other side : a Private of the 49th Regiment pretends that he saw him some years since at Portsmouth under sentence of transportation, that he is an Irishman, and his true name Massey ; the soldier is at Fort Erie ; I have sent for him that I may interrogate him myself on the subject.—

I have ordered a General Court Martial to be assembled for the trial of three Deserters taken in arms against us, one at Michilimakinac, one at Queenston, and the third with Captain King.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's,
most obedient,
humble Servant,
R H Sheaffe
M Genl Commg &ca

Archives, C. 1169, p. 102.

G.O. Quebec 17th December 1812.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, has great satisfaction in announcing to the Troops under his Command, that he has received a report from Major General Sheaffe, communicating the detail of a partial Action with the Main Body of the Enemy's Army, under the Command of Brigadier General Smyth, on the 28th November, on the Niagara Frontier, between Chippawa and Fort Erie, which terminated with distinguished honor, to a very small division of the British Army under Lieut. Col[l] Bishop, who in a most spirited and gallant manner, defeated and repulsed an Invading Army, so vainglorious in the great superiority of his Force, that he had with an ostentatious pretence of humanity, proposed the Surrender of Fort Erie, to avoid an useless effusion of British Blood, and which was instantly rejected by Lieut. Colonel Bishop with the contempt it merited.—

The Enemy was gallantly opposed in landing, at two OClock in the Morning, by the parties under Lieutenant King of the Royal Artillery, and Lieutenants Bartley and Lamont, Commanding Detachments of 30 and 35 Men each, of the 49th Regiment.—Lieut. Bartley prevented for a considerable time the landing of a Force more than ten times his number, and did not relinquish the contest untill his party reduced to 17 effective Men, was threatened by a Strong Detachment of the Enemy, who had landed on his Flank.—He made good his retreat, and joined Major Ormsby. Lieutenant King and Lieut. Lamont resisted with Spirit the advance of the Enemy, untill both those Officers were severely Wounded, and a number of their Men killed & wounded, they were under the necessity of giving way to an overwhelming Force:—The Wounded Officers fell into the Enemy's hands.

Major General Sheaffe expresses in the strongest terms,

his entire approbation of the celerity and decision evinced by Lieu^{t}. Colonel Bishop, who moved with reinforcements from Chippawa, and met Major Ormsby, who had marched with the Detachment of the 49th Reg^{t} from Fort Erie, and also Detachments of the 41st Regiment and of Militia, under Lieut^{t} Colonel Clark and Major Hatt.—At day break this force advanced to meet the Enemy, and made Prisoner a Captain and 38 Men of the Enemy's Artillery, and recovered the Guns which had fallen into their hands, and remounted them on the Batteries.—This Force formed to receive the threatened attack, but the Enemy being much galled by the Musquetry, and suffering considerably from a Six Pounder, most ably served by Bombardier Jackson of the Royal Artillery, turned their Boats to their own Shore, after a vain display for several hours, of their numerous armament. From the numbers left on the Field, and the Boats that were Sunk, the Enemy's loss must have been very great.

A heavy cannonade was kept up from all the Enemy's Batteries during the day, but with little effect.

His Excellency cannot express in sufficiently Strong terms His approbation of the steady discipline, and intrepid firmness, displayed by the Troops on this occasion, who undaunted by the superior force of the Enemy in numbers, have evinced a brilliant and glorious example of the pre-eminence of British Discipline.—

Major General Sheaffe reports the assistance rendered by Major Ormsby and the Officers of the 49th Reg^{t} and 41st Regiment, and the Light Infantry Company of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment under Captain Whelan, and of the Militia under Lieu^{t}. Col^{l}. Clark, and Major Hatt and Captain Kirby of the Artillery, and of the Indian Warriors, under Major Givens, as having been gallantly and judiciously displayed, reflecting the highest honor on every individual engaged.

(Signed) Edw^{d}. Baynes Adj^{t} Gen^{l}

Archives, C. 677, p. 288.

From Sheaffe at Fort George to Prevost at ——.

Fort George,
22nd December 1812

Sir,

I have had the honour of receiving Your Excellency's despatches of the 23rd of November, and 3rd of December: I derive the greatest satisfaction from learning that we are to have the aid of so many shipwrights &c immediately; with the addition of the number of Workmen that the country can furnish, there will no doubt be sufficient to prepare the Hulls, Masts and Iron Work quite as early as the other essential parts will be in readiness: I hope that Your Excellency will soon have favourable intelligence with respect to the Officers and crews.

I have not yet heard of the arrival of the Lady Prevost at Amherstburgh; if Captain Hall has escaped the tempestuous weather that succeeded his departure from Fort Erie, and has reached his destined port, he will be directed to repair to Quebec, unless it should appear that his presence at Amherstburgh cannot be dispensed with.

Besides a Vessel similar to the Lady Prevost, it is proposed to add two Gun boats on Lake Erie—Colonel Procter having represented that they would be of great utility. The general sketch of the plan proposed for the increase of the provincial Navy, to which I alluded in my letter of the 16th, was not inclosed with it, Captain Gray having told me that he was sending down a full report on it.

Mr. Deputy Commissary General Couche's representation may prove just, though I think it improbable that there will be, to such an extent, a failure of supplies so to make us dependent on the Lower Province; the peculiar situation in which this has been placed for many months will no doubt have the effect of diminishing its resources; a restriction on exports will become necessary if the war continue, but whether

it will provide sufficiently for the probable increased consumption, must be uncertain, as it will depend on a variety of contingencies that may baffle the most plausible calculation.

I beg leave to congratulate Your Excellency on the success of your arrangements for frustrating the designs of the Enemy, on the Lower Province, and, also, on the efficient support which you have received from its Militia.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's,
most obedient,
humble Servant,
R H Sheaffe
M Gen[l] Comm[g] &c

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP II. (*continued*)

BROCK, 1812

6. Montreal Frontier: (a) St. Regis, October 23, 1812

Archives, State Book L.C., J, p. 7.

To His Grace the Duke of Richmond K.G. Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Lower Canada &c. &c. &c.

Report of a Committee of the whole Council. Present The Hon[ble] The Chief Justice in the Chair, M[r]. Young, M[r]. Irvine, M[r]. Duchesnay, M[r]. Perceval and M[r]. Coltman upon the Petition of Marie Magdeleine Le Têtu Widow of Pierre Rottot:

May it please Your Grace

A Bill to grant a Pension to this Petitioner having passed the Assembly last year and failed in the Legislative Council

upon a Point of Form only, the Committee are induced to believe that no doubt can be entertained of the passing of a similar Bill in the next Session of the Provincial Legislature— The Committee do therefore humbly recommend that a Warrant may issue for the Pension of this Petitioner at the Rate of £40 c^{y} per annum until the Provincial Parliament shall be assembled to commence from the Period when the Bill would have received the Governor's Assent.

The Committee conceive that a Message to the Provincial Legislature in the ensuing Sessions will be necessary to ensure the repassing of the Bill to grant a Pension to this Petitioner, the former Bill having been lost in the Legislative Council from the Want of such Message.

All which is respectfully submitted to Your Grace's Wisdom

By order
(signed) J Sewell
Chairman

Committee Room
Bishop's Palace
28 August 1818.

BILL.

Act. To Grant a Pension during life to Marie Magdeleine le Têtu, Widow of Pierre Rottot for the Causes therein mentioned.

Most Gracious Sovereign—

Whereas Marie Magdeleine Le Têtu, widow of the late Pierre Rottot, deceased, hath by her Petition represented that her deceased husband the said Pierre Rottot, did, at the commencement of the late War with the United States of America, a Period when the safety of the province called for the exertions of every one of its Inhabitants, Volunteer his

Services as a Militia Officer and was appointed an Ensign in the Corps of Canadian Voyageurs; in which Capacity he continued to serve his Country, until he lost his life at St. Regis on the twenty third day of October, one thousand eight hundred and twelve, while engaged with the Enemy, and that he was the first person, who during the said war lost his life in defence of his Country.

And whereas it is proper and necessary that some provision be made for the maintenance and support of the Widow and family of the said Pierre Rottot.

May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, &c. &c.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government of this Province for the time being, by Warrant or Warrants under his hand and Seal directed to the Receiver General of the Province, to issue or pay or cause to be issued or paid annually from and after the passing of this Act to her the said Marie Magdeleine Le Têtu, Widow of the aforesaid Pierre Rottot late deceased, an Annual Pension or annuity not exceeding forty pounds, Current money of this Province, for and during the natural life of her the said Marie Magdeleine Le Têtu, Widow of the said Pierre Rottot, out of the misappropriated monies which now are or which at any time or times hereafter shall or may come into the hands of the Receiver General of this Province for the time being, and which have or shall be levied or collected under any Act or Acts of the Legislature of this Province.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that the due application of the monies appropriated pursuant to the directions of this Act, shall be accounted for to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors through the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for the time being in

such manner and form as His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors shall Direct.—

Clerks Office, House of Assembly,
Quebec, 26 August 1818.

These are to certify that the foregoing is Copy of a Bill which was read the third time in, and passed by, the House of Assembly on Saturday the 21st March 1818.

And afterwards sent by Message to the Legislative Council.

Wm. Lindsay,
Clerk, Ho. of Assembly.

Archives, C. 1169, p. 46.

G.O. Montreal 4th November 1812

The following Corps to be held in readiness to cross the River in Marching Order, complete in Ammunition and with One day's extra Provision ready Cooked—Vizt

Royal Artillery—Captain Sinclair, 3 Six pounders, with the necessary Detachment and Horses.—
Major Cotton—Battalion Companies 8th or Kings Regiment.

Lt Col Battersby—Six Companies Glengary Light Infantry.
Lt Col. Murray—Eight Companies 5th Battn Militia—
Major Caldwell—Four Companies Volunteer 1st Battn. Militia.—
One Subaltern, 20 Mounted Light Dragoons.

These Corps to compose the Montreal Brigade under the Command of Colonel Baynes. Brigade Major Shekleton is attached to this Brigade.—

Captain Platt's Troop, to form the Escort of the Commander of the Forces: if the Cavalry appointments do not arrive, Swords and Pistols the most appropriate will be issued to the Troop of Montreal Light Horse.—

Colonel Lethbridge will remain in the Command of the Island of Montreal, and of a Brigade composed of the following Detachments of Sedentary Militia—

	Lieutt.	Serjt.	Gunners.
Captain Dunlop's Artil^{y}. Comp^{y} . .	1	1	20
			Rank & File
Colonel M^{c}Gill's 1st Batt^{n}. . . .	—	—	300
Colonel Fortiers 2^{d} Batt^{n}. . . .	—	—	750
L^{t}.-Col. Harvieux 3^{d} Batt^{n}. . . .	—	—	470
			1,520

A Detachment of 1 Captain 2 Subalterns 4 Serjeants 100 Rank & File to do duty by rotation of a Week at La Chine, at which Post, 1 Serjeant and 6 Men of the King's is to be left for the purpose of training an organizing the Detachment of Militia.—

Colonel Lethbridge will make the necessary arrangements for the Sedentary Militia of the following Districts being Armed and Supplied with Ammunition and passed over the River with the least possible delay in the following Order—

The Militia of La Chine, Pointe Claire, S^{t} Anne, Chateau Brillant & L'Isle Bizaire to cross the River at Cocknawaga, and to march to reinforce the Troops at S^{t}. Philips or Chateauguai as circumstances may point out.—

The Militia from Isle Jesus and Terrebonne to be crossed over to Longueil—

The Militia from L'Assomption to be sent in like manner to Boucherville, there to wait for further Orders.

Depots of Ammunition and Provisions to be immediately formed at these Posts.—

Lieutenant Jones Royal Artillery will remain with a Detachment and Guns at Montreal but ready to move at the first notice.—

The detachment of Militia to be immediately ordered to relieve the Company of the Kings at La Chine—the other parts of this order relating to the Sedentary Militia are not

to be carried into effect until the Troops under Marching Orders are called out—but this Order is to be published to all concerned, but the Troops of every description may hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice

All Officers without exception are Commanded to repair with the utmost despatch to their respective Corps.

(Signed) E. Baynes A.G.

Archives, C. 1169, p. 50.

G.O. Montreal 5th Novembr 1812

Three Companies of the Kings Regiment to cross the River after their dinner this day and march to La Prairie.—Four Companies of the 2d Battalion Militia to march to St Phillips to reinforce Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry.

The Detachment of the Royal Scots under Major Gordon to proceed by Water to William Henry—Col. Coffin will furnish a Detachment of the Three Rivers Militia to conduct the Batteaux and bring them back—and will hold a body of 100 Rank & File with the proportion of 1. Field Officer and the Officers of two Companies on permanent duty at that Post to be relieved by rotation.—

Major Cockburn will march with the Detachment of the Canadian Regiment, on the arrival of Major Gordon at William Henry and join the Head Quarters of his Corps.—

6. Montreal Frontier: (b) St. Regis, November 23, 1812

Archives, C. 729, p. 22.

From Gray at Cornwall to Baynes at ——.

Cornwall 23d Novr 1812

Dear Baynes,

I herewith transmit an official statement of the Capture of the Post at the Salmon River.—

I have entered fully into the particulars of this affair, as it is highly creditable to the parties concerned, and the

greater part of them look for no other reward, it is therefore just and Politic to give them their due in this respect.—I have not in any respect stept beyond the strict limits of trouth, in any thing I have stated ; I had however difficulties to encounter which I have not stated there, and which arose chiefly from too much zeal, and from the habits that men, not accustomed to Discipline, are in of volunteering their opinions upon all subjects. Half the Glengary people, *with your Major at the head of them*, were for making the attack by the River, and so earnest were they on the subject, that not above half an hour before we embarked, they pressed the subject so closely, that I was under the necessity of telling them, that the Expedition was undertaken upon my responsibility, and that I would not alter the Plan laid down. I saw clearly what would happen by following their advice. The only difference between us was, that I saw it before, and they after the capture of the place.—They were all fully convinced of their error—had we gone by the River, we would have been shamefully beaten, as they expected us in that direction, and had a Picquet of 20 men on the River banks, that might have killed the whole Party.—When I got them in motion, and all properly arranged, they went on very well, and did their Duty with the greatest cheerfulness.—One of our greatest difficulties was to make them cease firing, and keep their Ranks and be Silent.—I must in justice except the comp^{s} of your Reg^{t} from this censure, as they really conducted themselves remarkably well.—I laid the strictest injunctions upon all the party to abstain from plunder, and not to injure any individual, excepting where resistance was made. This injunction was strictly complied with, and I believe no individual who remained quiet was injured, excepting in one instance, where a house was plundered by the Indians. This proved to be the House of the man who served me as a guide, and carried in the summons to the Blockhouse—I assured him, and several others of the village, that we were not come

to injure the Persons or properties of individuals—We had come to retaliate upon them the injuries their Gov^{r} had unjustly attempted to inflict upon us—I have promised to indemnify the man who was plundered, provided I was satisfied of the justice of the Statem^{t}. he might make out—From his account of his losses, it cannot be much. I however thought it right to make the promise I did, to discourage individual plunder—I have found it expedient to pass this matter over in silence, as we may have some further use for our Red Brethren—Their conduct since they *joined*, has been very good in general which was not till about an hour before we embarked—It seems they drank every drop of their rum before they started. We found it necessary to make the utmost haste back, as we had information from a person friendly to us in the Village, that succours were expected every instant, and this was so strongly corroborated from other sources, that there was no reason to doubt it. I therefore urged our departure without a moment's delay. I found this the more necessary, as our Glengary Volunteers had never had any training, having come to relieve the others only the Day before we arrived, and there was no possibility of keeping them in the Ranks—Many of them were so loaded with the Enemy's arms and accoutrements that they could scarcely move—I therefore desired all the arms to be Broken and the Ammun^{n} to be thrown into the River—The Batteaux were sunk in the River, and there we left them.—The Blockhouse was a mere shell, not having the Roof on, or the Machecoule Gallery formed. It would however have cost time and several lives to have taken it, as it was musquet proof and loopeholed. Our Yankie friends however gave us possession on easier terms—One Rascal was shot by one of the Artillery in the act of taking aim at some of us out at a window, with one of the Guns taken at S^{t}. Regius—The coincidence of the attack upon S^{t}. Regius, and our retaliation, being on the same day of the month, and at the same hour in the morning is

curious, as it was not of course premeditated—The prisoners themselves acknowledge the justice of our attack, and curse a Major of theirs as the author of the attack upon S^{t}. Regius.

We proceed on our journey to morrow having given the Prisoners in charge of a guard from the Glengary Militia, who escorts them to Coteau du Lake—

I am Dear Baynes
yours truly
A. Gray—

Our weather has been abominable ever since we left the Cascades.

Archives, C. 1169, p. 82.

G.O. La Prairie 27th Novem^{r}. 1812.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has received from the Acting Deputy Quarter Master General Captain Gray, a report of an Attack upon the American Post on the Salmon River near S^{t} Regis on the morning of the 23^{d} Inst by a Force consisting of a Detachment of the Royal Artillery, 49th Regiment, and Glengary Light Infantry, amounting to 70 Rank and File under Major Clarke on their route to join their respective Corps—and Detachments of nearly similar strength, from the Cornwall and Glengary Militia, the whole under the Command of L^{t}. Col^{l}. M^{c}Millan.—this Service has been promoted in an essential degree by L^{t}. Col^{l} M^{c}Lean of Glengary, who superintended the embarkation of the Detachment.—

The Attack was conducted with great judgement, alertness and spirit.—the Enemy fled to a Block House for protection, but being completely Surrounded 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns and 41 Men which composed the Garrison of this Post, Surrendered Prisoners of War.—Four Batteaux and 57 Stand of Arms were taken.—

In rendering that praise which is due to the spirit and good order with which this Service has been performed.— His Excellency has the greatest satisfaction in noticing the moderation and discipline displayed by the Troops, by confining themselves to a just and ample retaliation for the attack upon a Company of the Voyageurs at S^{t} Regis—and respecting the Persons and Property of the Inhabitants which the events of War had placed at their discretion.—

6. Montreal Frontier: (c) La Colle, November 20, 1812

Archives, C. 1169, p. 84.

G.O. La Prairie 27th Novem^{r} 1812

Major General De Rottenburg will be pleased to give the necessary Orders respecting the Winter Quarters to be occupied by the Troops in the Montreal District.—

G.O.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces takes this opportunity of expressing to L^{t}. Colonel De Salaberry his entire approbation of his conduct in the management of the advance, as well as the high sense he entertains of the alacrity with which, the Corps of Voltigeurs, Voyageurs, the Battalions of Embodied Militia—Captain Platt's Troop of Light Cavalry, and the Montreal Battalion of Volunteers, and Flank Companies 2^{d} and 3^{d} Battalions Montreal Militia, repaired to their different Posts to repel the threatened Invasion, and which had it taken place, His Excellency feels confident from the tried Valour and Discipline of His Majesty's Regular Forces, and from the enthusiastic loyalty and Courage of all Classes of His Majesty's Canadian Subjects, would have terminated in the defeat and disgrace of the Enemy ;—the extraordinary exertions which have been made upon this occasion and which thus call forth His Excellencys notice

and commendation cannot fail of producing the most happy consequences to the future tranquillity and prosperity of the Country.—

(Signed) E. Baynes A.G.

NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS

GROUP II (*continued*)

BROCK, 1812

7. Miscellaneous, 1812

Archives, C. 116, p. 348.

From Robinson to Freer.

Commissary Generals Office

Quebec, 25th December 1812.

Sir/

The Corvée Service having become of great Magnitude and the payments to Individuals in my Office both here and Montreal, being so numerous as to occasion a Serious impediment to every other transaction, I beg leave to represent to you for the information of the Commander of the Forces that it is highly expedient to make some arrangement that may remedy the inconvenience now experienced by the Commissariat and at the same time promote the good of the Service. I beg leave to submit to Excellency that the Department of the Commissary of Transport be rendered more efficient, so as not only to enable him to execute the present Duty, which is very important, with accuracy and dispatch but also to make the payments to the Individuals and every incidental expence connected with that Service.—I would therefore propose that the Salary of the Commissary of Transport at Quebec and Montreal be augmented to Ten Shillings Army Sterling a day with an Allowance for an Office

[*In different hand*] a project has been submitted & now under consideration

and every other Allowance of a Captain in the Army, and that he should have a Clerk at Five Shillings Army Sterling a day with the usual Allowances accorded to Clerks of that Class in the other Military Offices—and I feel it my duty to observe that it is essential the Person holding the Appointment of Commissary of Transport, should not have any other that would interfere with his Duty by removing him from the Garrison to which he belongs when his presence might be required.—

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
W. H. Robinson
Com^{y} Gen^{l}

Archives, C. 387, p. 4.

From Major General George Glasgow to Freer.

Quebec 13th Jan^{y} 1813

Sir

I have to acquaint you for the information of The Commander of the Forces, that the Sleighs required for the Transport of Ordnance Stores are constantly late, and deficient in the numbers demanded.—

The Brigade yesterday were detained until 3 o'clock PM and were then three Sleighs short of the number required

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your obe^{t} Servant
George Glasgow
Maj Gen^{l} Com^{g}

END OF VOL. I

Printed by SPOTTISWOODE, BALLANTYNE & Co. LTD.
Colchester, London & Eton, England

The Champlain Society

President

SIR EDMUND WALKER, C.V.O., D.C.L., LL.D., President of The Canadian Bank of Commerce

Vice-Presidents

SIR DANIEL McMILLAN, K.C.M.G.

SIR ROBERT FALCONER, K.C.M.G., LL.D., President of the University of Toronto

C. W. COLBY, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History in McGill University

Honorary Secretaries

GEORGE M. WRONG, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Toronto

ERIC N. ARMOUR, B.A.

Honorary Treasurer

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN, LL.D., Deputy Minister of Education for Ontario

Councillors

A. G. DOUGHTY, C.M.G., LL.D., Dominion Archivist, Ottawa

ADAM SHORTT, C.M.G., F.R.S.C., Civil Service Commissioner, Ottawa

H. H. LANGTON, M.A., Librarian of the University of Toronto

JAMES COYNE, M.A., LL.D., Registrar of the County of Elgin, St. Thomas, Ontario

WALTER C. MURRAY, M.A., LL.B., President of the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer

MISS ALICE E. STENNETT.

NOTE.—*Correspondence should be addressed in care of The University of Toronto, The Library, Toronto, Canada*

LIST OF MEMBERS

Abbott, J. L. G.	Vancouver
Acheson, The Rt. Rev. E. C.	Middletown, Conn.
Adami, J. G. M.D., F.R.S.	Liverpool
Adams, F. D., Ph.D., F.R.S.	Montreal
Aird, Sir John	Toronto
Allan, A. C.	London, Eng.
Amery, L. S.	London, Eng.
Ardagh, H. H.	Toronto
Armour, Donald, M.B., F.R.S.	London, Eng.
Armour, Eric N., B.A.	Toronto
Armstrong, G. E., M.D.	Montreal
Bain, J. Watson	Toronto
Baird, A. B., M.A., D.D.	Winnipeg
Beck, Hon. Mr. Justice	Edmonton
Bell, Charles N., LL.D., F.R.G.S.	Winnipeg
Bell, A. J., M.A., Ph.D.	Toronto
Bennett, R. B., K.C.	Calgary
Bennett, W. S.	Quebec
Biggar, H. P.	London, Eng.
Biggar, O. M., K.C.	Edmonton
Birks, W. M.	Montreal
Black, J. C.	Toronto
Blake, Hume	Toronto
Blake, W. H., K.C.	Toronto
Bonner, G. T.	New York
Boone, Capt. C. A.	Toronto
Borden, Rt. Hon., Sir R. L., K.C., LL.D.	Ottawa
Boyce, A. C., M.P.	Sault Ste. Marie
Breithaupt, A. L.	Kitchener
Breithaupt, W. H., C.E.	Kitchener
Brouse, W. H.	Toronto
Brown, Adam	Hamilton
Brown, Sir George	London, Eng.
Bruce, Alexander, D.	Unionville
Bruce, Herbert A., M.D.	Toronto
Bryce, George, LL.D., F.R.S.C.	Winnipeg
Buchanan, A. W. P., K.C., LL.D.	Montreal
Burke, A. E., D.D.,LL.D.	Chicago
Burland, Mrs. J. H.	Montreal
Burns, A. N.	Toronto
Burpee, L. J., F.R.G.S.	Ottawa
Buscombe, Frederick	Vancouver
Cameron, D. A.	Toronto
Cameron, I. H., M.B.	Toronto
Campbell, F. J.	Windsor, Que.
Campbell, Graham, M.B.	Toronto
Cantley, Thomas	New Glasgow
Caron, Abbé Ivanhoe	Quebec
Cartwright, A. D.	Ottawa
Casselman, A. C.	North Bay
Cassels, Hamilton, K.C.	Toronto
Caven, W. P., M.D.	Toronto
Chaffey, A. M.	Los Angeles, Cal.
Chapman, Joseph	Minneapolis, Minn.
Chipman, C. C.	London, Eng.
Clark, A. H.	Calgary
Clark, J. M., K.C.	Toronto
Clark, C. K., M.D.,LL.D.	Toronto
Clements, W. L.	Bay City, Mich.
Cockburn, F. J.	Montreal
Colby, Charles W., M.A., Ph.D.	Montreal
Coldwell, Hon. Geo. R., K.C.	Brandon
Colquhoun, A. H. U., LL.D.	Toronto
Conolly, R. G. W.	St. Catharines
Corbet, J. B.	Winnipeg
Craick, W. A.	Toronto
Cronyn, Edward	Toronto
Cronyn, Verschoyle, K.C., LL.B.	London, Ont.
Crowe, W., K.C., LL.B.	Sydney
Cumberland, Mrs. Barlow	Port Hope
Dampier, L. H.	Strathroy
Darling, Frank	Toronto
Davies, William	Toronto
Denham, Edward	New Bedford, Mass.
Dennis, Lieut.-Col. J. S.	Montreal
Dewar, D. B.	Hamilton
Dewart, H. H., K.C., M.P.P.	Toronto

LIST OF MEMBERS

DEWITT, JACOB B. C. L.	Montreal
DOHERTY, Hon. C. J.	Ottawa
DONALDSON, A. G.	Toronto
DOUGLAS, J., Estate of	New York
DRUMMOND, G. E.	Montreal
DUNLAP, D. A.	Toronto
DUNN, J. H.	London, Eng.
DYMENT, A. E.	Toronto
EATON, Mrs. TIMOTHY	Toronto
EGERTON, HUGH E., M.A.	Oxford, Eng.
ENGLEHART, J. L.	Toronto
EWART, JOHN S., K.C.	Ottawa
FAIRCLOUGH, H. R., M.A., Ph.D.	Palo Alto, Cal.
FALCONER, Sir ROBERT, K.C.M.G., LL.D.	Toronto
FLAHERTY, R. J.	Norwalk, Conn.
FLAVELLE, Sir J. W., LL.D.	Toronto
FLECK, A. W.	Ottawa
FORAN, T. P., K.C.	Hull, Que.
FOSTER, FRANCIS A.	Edgartown, Mass.
FOTHERINGHAM, J. T., M.D.	Toronto
FRANCIS, F. B.	New York
FRASER, ALEXANDER	Toronto
FULLER, H. J.	New York
FULTON, J. H.	New York
GALT, G. F.	Winnipeg
GARNEAU, Sir GEORGE, LL.D.	Quebec
GARNEAU, HECTOR, LL.B.	Montreal
GAUDET, PLACIDE	Ottawa
GEORGE, JAMES	Toronto
GILL, ROBERT	Ottawa
GLASGOW, ROBERT	Toronto
GOODERHAM, G. H.	Toronto
GOODWIN, W. L., B.Sc. (Lond.)	Kingston
GRANT, Lieut.-Col. W. A.	Côteau du Lac, Que.
GRANT, W. L., M.A., (Oxon)	Toronto
GRAY, F. M.	Toronto
GREENSHIELDS, E. B., LL.D.	Montreal
GRIFFITH, W. L.	London, Eng.
GUNDY, W. P.	Toronto
GURD, NORMAN	Sarnia
HAHN, PAUL	Toronto
HAMILTON, JOHN, M.A., D.C.L.	Quebec
HANNA, D. B.	Toronto
HANNAH, I. C., M.A., D.C.L.	Forest Row, Sussex, Eng.
HARCOURT, F. W., K.C.	Toronto
HART, J. S., M.D.	Toronto
HART, R. R.	Toronto
HARVEY, Hon. Mr. Justice	Edmonton
HEATON, F. R.	Montreal
HENDERSON, J.	Toronto
HINDLIP, Rt. Hon. Lord	Worcester, Eng.
HOBSON, R.	Hamilton
HOGG, WILLIAM	Vancouver
HOLT, G. V.	Vancouver
HORNE-PAYNE, R. M.	Brentwood, Essex, Eng.
HOSKIN, JOHN, K.C., LL.D.	Toronto
HOWAY, His Hon. Judge	New Westminster, B.C.
HOWLAND, PELEG	Toronto
HUNTER, A. F., M.A.	Toronto
HUNTER, Hon. Mr. Justice	Victoria, B.C.
HUYCKE, His Hon. Judge	Peterborough
INGERSOLL, J. H., K.C.	St. Catharines
JAMES, WILFRED C.	Toronto
JARVIS, AEMILIUS	Toronto
JENNINGS, C. A. C.	Toronto
JONES, F. C. L.	Toronto
JONES, H. V. F.	Toronto
JONES, T. Roy	Toronto
JOST, A. C., M.D.	Guysboro, N.S.
KAINS, ARCHIBALD	New York
KEEFER, F. H.	Thorold
KEMP, Sir A. E.	Toronto
KENNEDY, T. J.	Sault Ste. Marie
KERALLAIN, RÉNÉ DE	Quimper, France
KILGOUR, J.	Toronto
KINDERSLEY, R. M.	Abbots Langley, Herts, Eng.
KINGMAN, ABNER	Montreal
LAFLEUR, E., K.C., D.C.L.	Montreal
LANG, A. E., M.A.	Toronto
LANGLOIS, H.	Toronto
LANGTON, H. H.	Toronto
LASH, J. F.	Toronto
LASH, MILLER	Toronto
LEE, J. T.	Chicago
LEFROY, H. B.	Toronto
LEGGAT, WILLIAM	Montreal
LEONARD, R. W.	St. Catharines
LIGHTHALL, W. D., K.C.	Montreal
LITTLE, E. S.	London, Ont.
LITTLE, H. A.	Woodstock
LOTBINIÈRE, A. J. DE	Quebec

LIST OF MEMBERS

McArthur, D. A., M.A.	Toronto
Macdonald, Mrs. W. C.	Toronto
McDougall, J. A.	Edmonton
Macfarlane, W. G.	Chicago
McGibbon, G. C., M.D.	Honeywood, Ont.
Macgillivray, D.	Halifax
Machar, Miss A. M.	Kingston
Machum, E. R.	St. John, N.B.
McInnis, Hector, K.C., LL.B.	Halifax
Mackay, John	Toronto
MacKelcan, F. R.	Toronto
Mackenzie, Sir William	Toronto
MacKinnon, James	Sherbrooke, Que.
McLaughlin, J. L.	Toronto
McLean, James	Winnipeg
McLennan, J. S.	Sidney, N.S.
McMillan, Sir Daniel	Winnipeg
Macpherson, W. M.	Quebec
McPhillips, L. G., K.C.	Vancouver
MacWatt, His Hon. Judge	Sarnia
Manning, P. A.	Toronto
Massey, C. D.	Toronto
Massey, John	Toronto
Massey, Vincent	Toronto
Masten, Hon. Mr. Justice	Toronto
Masters, C. H.	Ottawa
Meighen, Lieut.-Col. F. S.	Montreal
Meredith, Sir William	Toronto
Merrett, T. E.	Montreal
Meyers, D. C., M.D.	Toronto
Miller, J. O., M.A., D.C.L.	St. Catharines
Mills, Lieut.-Col. D.	London, Eng.
Morison, J. L., M.A.	Kingston
Morris, H. H.	Vancouver
Moxon, A. E., F.R.G.S.	London, Eng.
Mulvey, Thomas	Ottawa
Murray, W. C., M.A., LL.D.	Saskatoon
Murton, Sir Walter, C.B.	Langton, Kent, Eng.
Needler, G. H., Ph.B.	Toronto
Northup, W. B., K.C., M.P.	Belleville
Noyes, C. W.	New York
O'Brian, J. B., K.C.	Toronto
O'Brien, Major A. H.	Toronto
Osler, Britton	Toronto
Osler, Sir Edmund	Toronto
Osler, Hon. F.	Toronto
Osler, F. G.	Toronto
Osler, Glyn	Toronto
Osler, H. S.	Toronto
Patterson, E. G.	Peterborough
Patterson, E. L. S.	Sherbrooke, Que.
Patterson, His Hon. Judge	New Glasgow, N.S.
Peacock, E. R.	London
Pearce, William	Calgary
Peck, E. A.	Peterborough
Penhallow, D. P., M.D.	Boston, Mass.
Phipps, A. R.	London, Eng.
Ponton, Lieut.-Col. W. M.	Belleville
Porteous, C. E. L.	Ile d'Orleans, Que.
Porter, A. J.	Niagara Falls, N.Y.
Primrose, A., M.B., C.M., (Edin.)	Toronto
Reade, John	Montreal
Redden, F. A. C.	London, Eng.
Reford, R. W.	Montreal
Reid, R. L., K.C.	Vancouver
Richardson, H. A.	Toronto
Riddell, Hon. Mr. Justice	Toronto
Robarts, A. W.	Port Arthur
Robertson, J. F.	St. John, N.B.
Ross, Mrs. J. F. W.	Toronto
Rounsefell, F. W.	Vancouver
Rowell, N. W., K.C.	Toronto
Rowley, C. W.	Winnipeg
Rundle, W. E.	Toronto
Russell, J. A.	Windsor, N.S.
Russell, T. A.	Toronto
Saul, J. C.	Toronto
Saunders, E. M.	Toronto
Scott, C. S.	Hamilton
Scott, Abbé H. A.	St. Foy, Que.
Scott, H. P.	Windsor, N.S.
Scott, James	Toronto
Short, William	Edmonton
Shortt, Adam, C.M.G., LL.D.	Ottawa
Silver, H. R.	Halifax
Sirois, J., LL.D.	Quebec
Skelton, O. D., M.A., Ph.D.	Kingston
Skinner, Sir Thomas	London, Eng.
Smith, G. Larratt	Toronto
Soliday, G. W.	Seattle, Wash.
Somerville, C. R.	London, Ont.
Squair, Prof. John	Toronto
Starr, F. N. G., M.D.	Toronto
Stavert, Sir William	Montreal
Stephenson, R. H.	Leicester, Eng.
Stevenson, P. C.	Kingston
Stoker, Mrs. T.	Montreal

LIST OF MEMBERS

Stone, William	Toronto
Strathcona, Baroness	London, Eng.
Strathy, G. B., M.A.	Toronto
Surveyor, E. F., K.C.	Montreal
Sutherland, Hon. Mr. Justice	Toronto
Sweny, Mrs. G. A.	Toronto
Taylor, His Hon. Judge	Edmonton
Todd, J. L., M.D.	Montreal
Trethewey, W. G.	Toronto
Trigge, A. St. L.	Toronto
Tunstall, S. J., M.D.	Vancouver
Tupper, Sir C. Hibbert, K.C.M.G.	Vancouver
Turnbull, A. H.	Wellington, N.Z.
Tyrrell, J. B., F.R.S.C.	Toronto
Van Horne, Lady	Montreal
Wade, F. C., K.C.	London, Eng.
Wallace, W. S., B.A.	Toronto
Walker, A. H.	New York
Walker, Sir Edmund, C.V.O., D.C.L.	Toronto
Walker, H. B.	Montreal
Ward, W. C.	Victoria, B.C.
Warner, C. M.	Boston
Wetherall, J. E.	Toronto
Wheeler-Bennett, J. W.	Keston, Kent, Eng.
White, James	Ottawa
Wilkie, Major A. B.	Toronto
Willison, Sir John	Toronto
Wishart, D. Gibb, M.D.	Toronto
Witton, H. B.	Hamilton
Williams-Taylor, Sir F.	Montreal
Wood, E. R.	Toronto
Woods, J. H.	Calgary
Wrong, G. M., M.A.	Toronto
Young, A. H., M.A.	Toronto

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

Adelaide, S. Australia	Public Library of South Australia
Alameda, Cal.	Alameda Free Public Library
Albany, N.Y.	State Library
Ann Arbor, Mich.	University of Michigan
Augusta, Maine	Maine State Library
Austen, Texas	University of Texas
Baltimore, Md.	Enoch Pratt Free Library
,,	Johns Hopkins University
Bangor, Me., U.S.A.	Public Library
Berkerley, Cal.	University of California
Berlin, Germany	Royal Library
Birmingham, England	Birmingham Public Library
Bordeaux, France	Bibliothèque de la Ville de Bordeaux
Boston, Mass.	Athenæum Library
,,	Public Library
,,	Massachusetts Historical Society
Brisbane, Aust.	University of Queensland
Brooklyn, N.Y.	Public Library
Buffalo, N.Y.	Buffalo Historical Society
Calgary, Alberta	Public Library
,,	Western Canada College
Cambridge, England	University Library
,,	Harvard University
Cardiff, Wales	Central Library
Chatham, Ont.	Public Library
Chicago, Ill.	Newberry Library
,,	Public Library
,,	The John Crerar Library
,,	University of Chicago
Cincinnati, Ohio	Public Library
Cleveland, Ohio	Public Library
Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.	Ohio State University Library
Detroit, Mich.	Public Library
Dublin, Ireland	Trinity College
Edinburgh, Scotland	Library of Society of Writers to H.M. Signet
Edmonton, Alberta	Alberta Provincial Library
,,	Edmonton Public Library
Fort William, Ont.	Public Library
Galt, Ont.	Public Library
Glasgow, Scotland	Mitchell Library
,,	University of Glasgow
Göttingen, Germany	Royal University

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

Grand Forks, N.D.	State Historical Society of North Dakota
Guelph, Ont.	Ontario Agricultural College
Halifax, N.S.	Presbyterian College
,,	Nova Scotia Legislative Library
,,	Dominion Atlantic Railway Library
,,	Dalhousie University
Hamilton, Ont.	Public Library
Hanover, N.H.	Dartmouth College
Indianapolis, Ind.	Indiana State Library
Kingston, Ont.	Queen's University
,,	Royal Military College
Kitchener, Ont.	Kitchener Public Library
Lansing, Mich.	Michigan State Library
Lawrence, Kan.	University of Kansas
Lincoln, Nebraska	University of Nebraska
London, England	Dept. of Printed Books, British Museum
,,	Royal Colonial Institute
,,	Royal Geographical Society
,,	The Colonial Office Library
,,	House of Lords
,,	Hudson's Bay Co.
,,	London Library, St. James' Square, S.W.
,,	University of London
London, Ont.	Public Library
,,	Western University
Los Angeles, Cal.	Los Angeles Public Library
Lynn, Mass.	Public Library
Madison, Wis.	State Historical Library of Wisconsin
Manchester, England	Reference Library
,,	John Rylands Library
Melbourne, Australia	Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery
Middletown, Conn.	Wesleyan University
Minneapolis, Minn.	Minneapolis Athenæum
,,	University of Minnesota
Montreal, P.Q.	Fraser Institute
,,	Civic Library
,,	Montreal College
,,	Normal School Library
,,	McGill University
,,	Library of Saint Sulpice
,,	Canadian Pacific Railway Library
Moose Jaw, Sask.	Public Library
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England	Public Library
New Haven, Conn.	Yale University
New Orleans, La.	Howard Memorial Library
New York, N.Y.	Public Library
,,	American Geographical Society of New York
,,	New York Historical Society
,,	Columbia University Library
Northampton, Mass.	The Forbes Library

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

Oberlin, Ohio	Oberlin College
Ottawa, Ont.	Carnegie Library
,,	Department of Militia and Defence
,,	Department of Mines
,,	Dominion Archives
,,	Library of Parliament, Canada
,,	Commission of Conservation
,,	Collegiate Institute
Oxford, England	All Souls College
,,	Bodleian Library
Palo Alto, Cal.	Leland Stanford University
Paris, France	Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris
,,	Bibliothèque Nationale
,,	Bibliothèque du Ministère de la Guerre
Philadelphia, Pa.	The Library Company of Philadelphia
,,	University of Pennsylvania
Pittsburg, Pa.	Carnegie Library
Port Arthur, Ont.	Public Library
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	Vassar College
Princeton, N.J.	Princeton University
Providence, R.I.	Brown University
,,	The John Carter Brown Library
Quebec, P.Q.	Archives Office, Province of Quebec
,,	Legislative Library of Quebec
,,	Quebec Literary and Historical Society
Regina, Sask.	Legislative Library of Saskatchewan
Sacramento, Cal.	State Library of California
,,	City Free Library
Salem, Mass.	The Essex Institute
San Francisco, Cal.	Mechanics' Institute Library
,,	Public Library
Sarnia, Bnt.	Sarnia Public Library
Saskatoon, Sask.	University of Saskatchewan
Seattle, Wash.	University of Washington Library
,,	Public Library
Sidney, Vancouver Island, B.C.	Alpine Club of Canada Library
Spokane, Wash.	Spokane Public Library
Ste. Anne de Bellevue	Macdonald College
St. Catharines, Ont.	Public Library
Ste. Hyacinthe, Que.	Bishop's House
St. John, N.B.	Free Public Library
St. Louis, Mo.	St. Louis Mercantile Library Association
St. Paul, Min.	Minnesota Historical Society
St. Thomas, Ont.	Elgin Historical Society
Stratford, Ont.	Public Library
Sydney, Australia	The Public Library of New South Wales
Syracuse, N.Y.	Public Library
Topeka, Kan.	Kansas State Historical Society
Toronto, Ont.	Canadian Bank of Commerce, Archives Department
,,	Department of Education, Ontario
,,	Legislative Library, Ontario
,,	McMaster University Library
,,	National Club

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

Toronto, Ont.	Osgoode Hall
,,	Provincial Archives
,,	Public Library
,,	Trinity College
,,	University Club
,,	University of Toronto
,,	Victoria University
,,	York Club
Upsala, Sweden	Royal University of Upsala
Urbana, Ill.	University of Illinois
Vancouver, B.C.	Carnegie Library
,,	University of British Columbia
Victoria, B.C.	Legislative Library of British Columbia
Washington, D.C.	Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution
,,	Library of Congress
West Point, N.Y.	United States Military Academy
Windsor Castle	The Royal Library
Winnipeg, Man.	Provincial Library
,,	Women's Canadian Club
,,	University of Manitoba
Worcester, Mass.	Free Public Library